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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

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**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## CIS Council of Heads of Government Meets

### Reaches Agreement on Agenda

*LD1203154593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy, Ivan Ivanov, and Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—All 16 points on the agenda of the sitting of the Council of Heads of Government of the CIS states have already been considered today. This has been announced by Yevgeniy Gorelik, press secretary of the CIS working group. The process of signing of final documents of the prime ministers' meeting will start in about an hour's time. Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who has just arrived in Moscow, told journalists that he intends to sign all the documents discussed at today's meeting.

According to Gorelik, a thorough conversation on the question of the economic development of the CIS countries took place at today's "summit." Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, who came to the sitting from Russia's Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin, commended the accords reached two weeks ago in Surgut on oil-industry cooperation between the Commonwealth countries. It is expected that, at the end of today's meeting, talks will be continued on cooperation within the Russian fuel-and-power complex with those countries that have still not signed the Surgut agreements.

Careful consideration was also given at today's meeting to the question of the progress made with preparing an agreement setting up a CIS Coordinating and Consultative Committee. It was decided that the Commonwealth countries would be represented in the Committee by vice prime ministers, who are to complete the work on the clause concerning it. Their first meeting is to be held on 25 or 26 March in Minsk.

### Councils, Joint Action Decided

*OW1203143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Participants in Friday's [12 March] session of the Council of Heads of Governments of the CIS reached agreement on 15 of the 16 items proposed for the agenda. The question of the establishment of a coordinating and consultative committee for the CIS was also discussed, and it was decided that the proposition would be revised and discussed with the vice-premiers and economic ministers of the CIS at a special session in Minsk at the end of March.

An agreement was reached on the establishment of an inter-state council on the maintenance of industrial property, as well as a coordinating council for the Inter-State Broadcasting Company. General provisions in anti-monopoly policy and joint action in the fight with organized crime were also agreed upon.

The only point which was postponed was the discussion of joint activity in the technical organization of defense among commonwealth states.

The Moscow session includes participation by the prime ministers of eleven former Soviet republics, including Azerbaijan, which has observer status. At the beginning of the conference, Russia was represented by Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin; Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin was occupied at the Congress of People's Deputies in the morning, but attended the conference in the second half of the day. Ukrainian cabinet head Leonid Kuchma arrived only in the afternoon due to the heavy weather in the morning.

Government heads were sent by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, and Tajikistan, while Kyrgyzstan,

Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan sent the deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers.

In an interview with INTERFAX, Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko said that the solutions to the CIS's problems should not be political, but be found on the economic level, including through bilateral relations.

Belarusian cabinet head Vyacheslav Kebich, in a conversation with an INTERFAX correspondent, called for the establishment of an economic union within the framework of the CIS which, he said, would strengthen the Commonwealth.

CIS United Armed Forces Commander Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov told INTERFAX that all three questions submitted to the session by the commander were decided in the affirmative and adopted with slight amendments.

The marshal added that he intended again to raise the question of cooperation among CIS states in the issuing of military products, technology, and weapons. He called for the establishment of inter-state cooperation within the CIS framework in the release of military products.

### News Conference Held

*LD1203180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1558 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Alladinskiy, Ivan Ivanov, and Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 12 March—"All 16 issues on the agenda of today's meeting were discussed, and decisions on them were arrived at," Moldovan Prime Minister Andrey Sangheli, who chaired today's meeting of the Council of the CIS Heads of Government, said.

Opening a press conference on the results of the meeting, he stressed that the Moscow meeting, which took place two weeks after the Surgut conference of prime ministers, demonstrated that it was possible to achieve unanimity among the Commonwealth heads of government. Expressing satisfaction with the results of the meeting, Andrey Sangheli said that the CIS countries were primarily resolving economic problems, but they "can solve any problems of cooperation."

Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, underlined that the agreements achieved today "did not depend at all on the results of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies." "The heads of government who were present here proved that our governments continue to work irrespective of political changes."

Replying to a question by an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Ivan Korotchenya, head of the CIS working group, announced that regarding the setting up of "the CIS Coordination-Consultative Committee," a decision was made to charge deputy prime ministers of the Commonwealth countries to gather on 30 March in Minsk and "give concrete expression to the document on the Coordination-Consultative Committee to finalize it so that it can be adopted at the meeting of the CIS heads of state and government on 30 April in Yerevan."

Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich expressed hope that the consultative committee that was being set up would become a coordinating economic body of the Commonwealth in future. Time will show how this committee will work and what states will have closer economic ties, he said, replying to a question on the possibility of setting up some internal economic unions in the CIS.

At the same time, Kazakhstani Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko added that one should not look for attempts to create some secret blocs. There are questions that relate to all CIS states and there are issues that are of interest only to some Commonwealth countries. At the same time, he stressed that the economy should be supreme policy.

The participants in the meeting assessed the agreement signed in Surgut as a positive experience in coordinating efforts of the Commonwealth states. According to Ivan Korotchenya, similar meetings will take place at the end of March and April. Agricultural and industrial problems will be discussed there, Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, said. Councils of the heads of government will also be formed there, and approved documents will be presented for adoption to the Commonwealth heads of state and government.

## Russian, Kazakh, Ukrainian Premiers Comment

*OW1203175593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1729 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The session of the Council of CIS heads of government ended in Moscow on Friday [12 March] with the signing of 17 agreements. Moldova's Premier Andrei Sangheli, who chaired the session, has said that "decisions were made virtually on all items on the agenda".

It was agreed to establish an Inter-State Council for protecting industrial property and for a coordinating council of the inter-state company for television and radio broadcasting. CIS prime ministers also agreed on joint measures to fight against organized crime, coordination of anti-trust policies and cooperation in defence.

Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told the closing news conference that the session of the Prime Minister's council did not depend on events at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies. He said that problems which had to be handled within the CIS were not linked to the political situation in various CIS member-states.

Asked about joint CIS measures to protect Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan, Chernomyrdin said that "however difficult that problem can be, Russia could not turn its back on it". The Russian Prime Minister believes that the main task today was "closing the border" so that "negative effects should not be felt in Russia proper".

The Prime Minister of Tajikistan Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov has said that all CIS member-states must realize that that is not the border of Tajikistan alone, but of all CIS member-states and joint measures must be taken to protect it.

The Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who signed all agreements at the Moscow prime ministers' conference said that Kiev was for "one economic union and the sooner it emerges, the better".

The CIS Commander-in-Chief Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has said that the conference accepted his proposal for forming an inter-state commission for military and technological cooperation within the CIS. Apparently, it will be led by a vice-premier of the Russian government. Concrete aspects of military-technological cooperation will be discussed by the commission April.

The coordinator of the CIS work group, Ivan Korotchenya, has said that the draft provision for a coordinating consultative committee of the Commonwealth would be studied at a special conference of CIS vice-premiers responsible for economics in Minsk on March 30. The draft they will prepare will be submitted to a session of CIS heads of state in Yerevan on April 30.

## Kuchma on Summit, Russia

*LD1203235693 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1756 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Moscow, 12 Mar (UKRINFORM)—[passage omitted] "We intend most seriously to discuss economic issues. We are concerned about prices for gas, questions of the foreign debt of the former USSR, and mutual payments," Leonid Kuchma said on arrival.

Dealing with mutual relations with Russia, the head of the Ukrainian Government noted that they changed for the better after the conference in Surgut. There emerged greater trust in each other.

"I think the direction of Russian policy will be adjusted not to self-isolation, but to integration," the prime minister of Ukraine stressed.

### Kazakhstan's Tereshchenko Comments

*LD1203212993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by Vadim Perfilyev, including recorded remarks by S.A. Tereshchenko, chairman of the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers, following meeting of head of CIS governments in Moscow; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Perfilyev] Bad weather in Moscow and political storms at the Congress in the Kremlin prevented Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Chernomyrdin from arriving on time at the sitting of the Council of the Commonwealth Heads of Government. Nevertheless, all 16 items on the agenda of the sitting were discussed and corresponding decisions have been reached. [passage omitted]

[Tereshchenko] Owing to the severance of economic ties, there have been very big losses in comparison with 1989, and a slump in production has amounted to 27 percent. You know the position held by Kazakhstan and our President Nazarbayev—it is aimed at maintaining common economic space. We opt for setting up such associations as, for example, KazRosCopper, KazRosChrome, and other associations where enterprises are connected as parts of a single technological chain. They appear either on our own initiative, or at least we let our industrialists solve those issues themselves. There should be no customs barriers. We should not create artificial obstacles between our enterprises. This is the main thing today.

### Trade Union Appeal Noted

*LD1203212293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2056 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By BELINFORM correspondent Valentina Menshikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk March 12 TASS—A tripartite meeting of Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian trade union leaders called today on the Commonwealth state and government heads with a proposal to immediately hold negotiations on the restoration of broken economic relations, industrial and agricultural production and creation of real integration mechanisms.

"Economic disintegration is deteriorated with the complicated financial relations, the absence of state reform programs clear to the population and increasing political and economic pressure on interests of producers," said head of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation Vladimir Goncharik.

"We are not against national sovereignties. We are against economic isolation," he added.

Trade union leaders from the three Slav republics called on Commonwealth heads to refuse from the establishment of tax and customs barriers between Commonwealth states, normalize the situation in the banking sphere and provide for coordinated measures in regulation of prices on basic foodstuffs and energy carriers.

### Ukrainian TV on Results

*LD1303211693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, a routine session of the CIS Council of Heads of Government was held in Moscow yesterday.

Here is a report by our special correspondent Vitaliy Borovko:

[Borovko] [passage omitted] Except for the issue of a coordinating council of the interstate television and radio company, with Ukraine's position separate, and in view of the fact that there were not any objections of principle, the head of the Ukrainian Government signed a number of documents relating to economic, military, law-enforcement, and some social aspects of cooperation between the Commonwealth states. [passage omitted]

Bilateral Ukrainian-Russian negotiations between members of the respective delegations, headed by Leonid Kuchma and Russian Government head Viktor Chernomyrdin, were held after the session ended.

Issues of the supply of Russian oil and gas to Ukraine and the division of the former Soviet Union's debt and assets were discussed. The Russian position on the latter issue remained firm and uncompromising, as was confirmed by Vice Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin in a conversation with journalists. It was decided that the negotiations would continue next week.

### Paper Reports on Session

*PM1503132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "CIS Heads of Government Come Out in Favor of Closer Economic Union"]

[Text] The session of the CIS heads of government took place 12 March as planned despite the complicated political situation and the weather conditions in Moscow. All the questions on the agenda were examined swiftly.

Here are several of them: "Measures To Protect Industrial Property and the Formation of an Intergovernmental Council on Questions of Protecting Industrial Property," "Coordination of Antimonopolies Policy," "A Coordination Council for the Interstate Television and Radio Company," "Using Military Satellite Communications Systems and Their Future Improvement," "The Common Fight Against Organized Crime."

Before the session opened, working group coordinator I. Korotchenya reported to IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the sessions of the working groups which took place the previous day evinced an ever strengthening tendency for close economic union among the Commonwealth states.

The most complex question is that of the Coordinating Consultative Committee's activities. The point is that at the level of heads of state it is not fully clear what kind of Commonwealth we want, therefore it is unclear what degree of coordination there should be between the economic processes. In my opinion, the vice premiers responsible for questions of the economy and cooperation in the Commonwealth should be involved in the Coordination Consultative Committee.

In many respects Korotchenya's prediction came true. The session participants adopted decisions on the majority of agenda items quickly and without any particular differences of opinion. The contents of several agreements have become known. For example, it was decided to adopt a convention on protecting industrial property, and joint crime-fighting operations were planned. Proposals on counteracting terrorism on airlines were filed. It was agreed to work out some criteria concerning "Ostankino"s' activities: Who is paying how much for what. An agreement was reached on producing medals for the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War, but the question of what symbol it will bear, and who should award it, was left to the Council of Heads of State.

As Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, reported to journalists, all three questions concerning military cooperation were resolved. The question of producing military gear and equipment was discussed in addition to the agenda. As we know, the marshal said, some 60,000 enterprises worked for the defense program in the USSR. Of these 2,000 were turning out finished products. Now such enterprises are distributed in the following manner: 70 percent of them are in Russia; 4 percent in Belarus; 17 percent in Ukraine; and the remainder are in other states. The necessity to form interstate corporations to produce, for example, airplanes, tanks, and other types of weapons as well as spare parts for them has come to a head. It is now up to the politicians. Concerning the implementation of the Minsk agreement on Tajikistan, we intend to close the Tajik-Afghan border, but we will not resolve the internal problems there.

## Shaposhnikov on Need To Uphold Army's Honor

*MK1203120093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 5*

[Article by Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces: "The Army's Honor. Abusing It Has Never Done Russia Any Good" ]

[Text] The army's honor... Sure, you will find people who will regard this as a totally irrelevant topic of discussion, particularly as there certainly is no shortage of acute and painful problems at the moment. The economic crisis, declining living standards, the crime wave, national extremism and separatism, discrimination against non-Russophone minorities, armed conflicts... A sad list! It bespeaks the pain and tears, hardship and unhappiness of many, many people.

In these conditions it is not only the people who are looking to the army, associating with it—as they do—their secure existence, the thing that is central to them; various political forces do the same thing, counting either on the army's support in the attainment of their goals, or on the use of the results of the army's involvement in the political confrontation in their own interests. Who the army will be with and how it will conduct itself depends crucially on the conditions—socioeconomic and moral—in which the army functions, what norms, principles, and guidelines determine its spiritual life, and how society regards it.

As I see it, all this comes down to the army's honor. It is the integral moral and ethical sum of all social relations in the sphere of defense and security, to which the fatherland's patriotic traditions attach special significance. To paraphrase V.O. Klyuchevskiy, although it is not for the army that the state exists, the state cannot exist without it.

That is, the army is one of the cornerstones of statehood, and the main thing is that it should match the state's geopolitical status and socioeconomic potential and have, from the defense sufficiency viewpoint, the optimal composition, structure, equipment, and quality of training and be capable of reliably protecting its state's interests.

Although the army's honor is a moral and ethical term, it becomes a physical force when respect for it on the part of society and the people's concern to maintain it at the proper level are combined with servicemen's actions and deeds corresponding to the lofty notions of honor.

Our history shows that respect for the army's honor and concern for it, being a consistent and firm state policy, have created over the centuries the very phenomenon that conquerors of various shapes and sizes, coming to our land, have never quite grasped. The Prussian emperor and military commander Frederick II, who was noted for his bellicosity, talked with a degree of wonder and envy of the Russian soldier, saying that "you have to shoot him twice, and then shove him again to make sure he falls over." Bismarck warned against attacking Russia. Kulikovo Field and the battles of Poltava and Borodino confirmed the durability of Aleksandr Nevskiy's behest: "He who comes to us with the sword will be put to the sword."

I was reminded of this during the celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the rout of the fascist forces in the Battle of Stalingrad. I happened to be in Volgograd at the time, among veterans—heroes of that battle. What strong lifelong ties had been forged between them—people from the Urals and Siberia, from Moscow and Minsk, from Kiev and Kishinev, natives of Kazakhstan, the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasus! Soldiers of the Fatherland, defenders of it, they all stood there side by side, irrespective of nationality, and fought to the death on the banks of the Volga, at Brest, Moscow and Leningrad, Odessa and Sevastopol; they routed the enemy at the Kursk Bulge, during the liberation of Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic area, and European states. Together, relying on the love, concern, and support of our entire multinational country, they gained one great victory for all. They felt then and they feel now like soldiers, to use M.I. Kutuzov's words, saviors of the Fatherland. In what they said, in their embraces, in the soldier's grudging tears you could sense a silent reproach: Are the age-old traditions of combat comradeship, friendship, and fraternity going to be lost? Is the thing that always constituted our army's main strength going to die?

Unfortunately, there are many things happening in our life that make one's anxiety warranted, particularly as there have been periods in our past when the army's honor and its dignity have been deliberately demeaned, when the devaluation of the notions of military service, military duty, and the profession of the defender of the Fatherland have brought the people untold sufferings and tragedy.

According to historians, at the end of the last century and beginning of this century, patriotism came to be widely regarded as something unworthy and the army as the main brake on progress. Public opinion was pressured into total disregard for military valor and contempt for military service as a "stupid and harmful" occupation. As a result the bulk of young people sought civilian service, which promised material benefits and did not require them to experience hardship and risk their health and even their lives in carrying out their military duty. The upshot was the cruel defeat in the Russo-Japanese war. But even this did not satisfy and did not stop the army's "well-wishers." They continued their policy of undermining military service as a prestigious occupation and the army's honor, and discrediting and demeaning the officer corps. In the end this forespoke the Russian Armed Forces' death throes in the first war and their total collapse in 1917.

Of course, direct historical analogies are hardly appropriate. But one does wonder: Doesn't history teach, in fact, that people learn nothing from history. Remember the defamation of and reprisals against the military experts in the thirties; remember how on the eve of the Great Patriotic War the pride of the officer corps was provided for [as published] and repressed. The consequences of these actions, which had a tragic effect on the course of the Great Patriotic War, particularly its initial period, are well known.

In the postwar years too the army and its honor have often been targets of political games. During the Khrushchev "thaw" the Hungarian and Novocherkassk actions, totally contrary to the spirit and purpose of our army, were carried out; there were wholesale cuts, which meant that more than 2 million soldiers were left without any social, legal, and moral protection. Under Brezhnev, while there were signs of interest in army veterans on the part of the country's leadership, the army was plunged into the Czechoslovak events and the Afghan tragedy.

The army was exposed on more than one occasion in the "perestroyka era"—in Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Baku, Vilnius. It is a taciturn man, you might say, who has not spoken ill of the army, accusing it of bullying, of protectionism, of being privileged, of unruly behavior, of lack of discipline, and other sins. A picture was painted which was intended to show that the army was worthless and useless, that it was engulfed in a mire of negative phenomena. It is indicative that the state leadership declared it was "unaware" of the army's involvement in political actions and that it had nothing to do with it itself. On top of the "Afghan syndrome," we had the "Tbilisi syndrome" weighing on the army's honor.

All this occurred in a kind of legal vacuum surrounding the army, where the functioning of the entire defense sphere was essentially regulated by just one chapter of the Constitution and by the Law on Universal Military Service. And despite the persistent demands by the armed forces leadership and the officer corps, the legislative "virgin' land" of defense questions remained untouched.

Then the army started to make independent efforts somehow to protect itself, its name, its history and traditions, its dignity and honor. Unfortunately, more often than not this was bungled, carried out in too straightforward a manner, and it rebounded on the army, prompting even more accusations. A paradoxical situation arose in which the part of society that is meant to protect it and by and large is performing this difficult, crucial task in a worthy manner, was forced to protect itself against society. This badly damaged army morale, offended servicemen's dignity, and gave rise to a muffled, indistinct, but steadily mounting protest. And the absence of any real support and protection on the part of the political leadership or concern for the practical solution of really acute army problems, most of them relevant to the state as a whole, rather than just to the army, made this protest more and more distinct.

The army, above all the officer corps, began increasingly to contemplate its place, status, and role in society. Amid the military there began undeclared but genuine processes of democratization intended to revive human relationships within the armed forces, based on civil equality and respect for the individual, and to create a system of guarantees of their functioning in a rule-of-law state, including the legislative enshrinement of the procedure for using the forces, the status of servicemen, and their social protection.

The qualitative changes that had taken place in the army, despite its detractors, and incidentally, not noticed by them, were most patently manifested, fortunately for society, during the August events of 1991. Its position was so much at odds with the image of blind execution of someone else's will, of the "smotherer of democracy"—an image that had been so long in the making—that there came an interlude in the working of the army theme. A brief one, as it turned out.

The next round of demolition work to eliminate the notions of military duty, military service, and concern for the army's honor from what the people see as a set of major, essential principles began with the onset of 1992. The situation was particularly dramatic as a result of the division of the unified armed forces beneath the banner of "sovereignization," the withdrawal of forces from nearby and faraway foreign parts, without providing for their material and everyday needs, the emergence and escalation of armed conflicts in a number of regions, and the numerous attempts to involve the army in political confrontation. It became the widespread practice—one that went unpunished and was in some places actually encouraged by the authorities—to pin the offensive label of "occupiers" on our troops, to indulge in brazen provocation and crude discrimination against servicemen and their families, to encroach on their honor, dignity, and lives, make armed attacks on military units and military facilities, and desecrate soldiers' graves and monuments.

Again the army was essentially "presented" with the task of tackling these problems itself. Thousands of servicemen and their families felt they had been abandoned to the whim of fate by the state and by the states.

People in the army were tempted to resolve this contradiction by force, to cut the Gordian knot of problems, which had become extremely bad with the breakup of the USSR, by force. This was confirmed by what was a virtual ultimatum from the All-Army Officers Assembly in January 1992 on the preservation of the unified armed forces and of the USSR in particular. In a situation where the sovereignty of the independent states—former republics of the Soviet Union—had already been proclaimed, had been enshrined in legislation, and had received international recognition, the implementation of this demand would have led to a major, destructive war with unpredictable consequences for the whole world. And the armed forces would have been blamed for the tragedy. The fact that the officer corps recognized this, by opting for a legal, political, democratic solution of the problems, demonstrated the army's maturity, responsibility, dignity, and honor.

Did our politicians and society appreciate this fact, did they realize that they had again, as in August 1991, managed to avoid a catastrophic turn of events entirely due to the composure, the fortitude, and the selflessness of the officer corps, taking on the burden of hardship, adversity, and humiliation solely for the benefit of the people, for the benefit of civil peace? I am not sure. At any rate, there are still people around who choose to see the results of that officers assembly as little short of a betrayal of the armed forces' interests and approval of their division. That is, essentially, they are talking about a missed "opportunity" to try to preserve (but without any guarantee of the attainment of that goal) the unity of the armed forces and of the USSR at the cost of millions of lives. Strange as it may seem, this position has some media support.

Unfortunately, after January's political stress there was no appreciable turn toward the army's problems in society, which is confirmed by the continuing numerous manifestations of disrespect toward military service, military duty, and a soldier's honor and dignity. A whole host of accusers and mudslingers has appeared, who are tarring the entire command personnel and all the generals with the same brush as certain renegades in uniform. Is there not a social demand to deprive our state of its army here? These phenomena are not receiving a proper state appraisal and firm legal reaction, and are not being met with adequate actions within the clear and unambiguous position of the organs of authority.

The unpunished trampling on the army's honor is producing bad and, if you think about it, fatal sprouting shoots for statehood and the people's moral health.

Talking about the army's honor, I want to stress especially the unacceptability and impermissibility of reducing the conversation to one about the famous "honor of the uniform." Unfortunately this has almost become the general fashion. All someone, especially a military man, has to do is raise his voice in defense of the army and immediately he is "found guilty" with more than a trace of malice: People say he is defending the honor of the uniform! And although I believe that the honor of the uniform must also be saved and defended, here it is a question of confirming the state's attitude toward the army as an essential condition for forming a civil society and ensuring that it has a genuinely democratic structure.

Not an easy task, especially bearing in mind the fairly long period in which the moral values associated with military service and the army have been devalued. But it is one that is achievable. And, as many Commonwealth states' experience testifies, a start has already been made in tackling it successfully, first and foremost in the sphere of defense legislation. Questions concerning defense, military organizational development, the functioning of the Armed Forces, the status and social protection of servicemen and their families, and pension provision are most fully reflected in the laws adopted in the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and the Russian Federation. Systematic work in this sphere is being carried out in other independent CIS states.

I think that it is here, in comprehensive and coordinated legal backup for military organizational development, that one of the most crucial conditions for a breakthrough in the attitude toward the Army and its dignity and honor lies. And it is no less important or necessary than a breakthrough in the political and economic development of the Commonwealth states and in establishing an entire system of their mutual relations.

Naturally, the main thing is that adopted laws work. I say this because a considerable proportion of the agreements on defense questions adopted in the CIS which are full of concern about the army, about ensuring its civilized transformation into the CIS Joint Armed Forces, about coordinating measures and acts concerning legal and social protection for servicemen and their families, and about the maximum preservation of all that comprises a common defense area's material, operational and technical, and military-economic fabric has to a considerable extent unfortunately remained mere rhetoric. It has not been possible to avoid, in particular, steps which are effectively paralyzing the systems and structures which it is known could exist and function only as unified ones, as well as actions which are hitting hard the officer corps, its cohesion, and its internationalist spirit.

The situation must be straightened out urgently. It is causing concern to the Council of Heads of State, the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly, and Commonwealth states' leaderships. Practical measures aimed at strengthening defense capability and national and collective security are being worked out. Among these measures priority is taken by all those associated with the spiritual element of defense and security and with concern for the honor and dignity of the Armed Forces and their backbone—the officer corps.

The trend toward integration in the Commonwealth's development has acquired sharper definition with the adoption of the CIS Charter. The Tashkent Treaty on Collective Security and the Bishkek Agreement on a Concept of Military Security for the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States are a good basis for consolidating and extending this trend in the defense sphere. Close, equal, and effective military cooperation and joint advancement toward a qualitatively new political and military alliance between the CIS states is objectively in the interests of all the Commonwealth's peoples.

The movement in this direction coincides with the vector of the revival of the army's honor. After all, most officers, wherever they are now serving, continue to think in categories of joint armed forces. This is not only, and maybe not even, so much nostalgia for the recent past as the natural state of the soul of people who have been molded in the principles of unity and friendship between peoples and in the traditions of camaraderie inherited from grandfathers and fathers. In this context I cannot fail to recall A.S. Pushkin's words that only "savagery, baseness, and ignorance have no respect for the past, groveling to the present alone."

That is why, in particular, a cautious attitude is needed toward the honor of the army—a state entity that accumulates within itself the succession of generations. I am convinced that the new swearing of the military oath by generals and officers who have once already sworn their loyalty to their homeland that is being carried out in the armies of certain CIS states is causing them an almost incurable mental trauma. It is being intensified even more by promises to kick officers committed to the Commonwealth out of the army, and is engendering not only deep depression but also increasing protests.

It is because of these half-baked decisions that insult an officer's honor, instability in society, the nonimplementation of previously adopted agreements within the CIS framework on military questions, and general attempts to slander and humiliate that various kinds of conjectures about impending military coups are appearing.

I am convinced that the pace that certain CIS states and above all Russia have set in eradicating the "legal" vacuum in relation to the army and the very rapid resolution of all social questions concerning servicemen and members of their families, the democratization of life, the removal of obstructive pretensions standing in the way of integrating CIS states' defense, and the just punishment of renegades will remove the topic of military talks [peregovory] that is prevalent in society. But nobody should fool with the army. It will not stand for that. Reality is such that the army has learned to think.

This must not fail to be borne in mind in serious politics. Reflecting the deep-seated mood of tens and hundreds of thousands of officers, this reality manifests itself as an important sociopolitical factor that is centripetal in its direction and which opposes destructive disintegration and is a stable, natural basis for full-blown Joint Armed Forces. This must be done by peaceful means whose foundation will be a new legal basis founded on the peoples' desire for cooperation and mutual trust and respect.

The army is an archipelago of stability in the CIS geostrategic area. Reviving respect for the army's honor as an immutable norm of society and concern that defenders of the Fatherland have worthy living and service conditions that naturally correspond to the state's real resources—this means preserving and widening the bridgehead for stabilizing the sociopolitical and economic situation, for consistently implementing progressive democratic reforms, for ensuring reliable national and collective security, and for increasing the international authority of independent states and the Commonwealth as whole.

### New Black Sea Fleet Commander Interviewed

*LD1403143893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0825 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Interview with Admiral Baltin, new Black Sea Fleet commander, by Vladimir Plotnikov in Sevastopol; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Plotnikov] One of the main events in the Black Sea Fleet this year was the arrival of the new commander in Sevastopol. Eduard Baltin was declassified about five years ago when he became first deputy commander of the Pacific Fleet. Before that it looked like he never existed, just as the submarine fleet force which he commanded—first in the north, and later in the Far East. After Vladivostok, Eduard Baltin had a chair in the General Staff Academy for two years. Now, this Black Sea Fleet appointment which was agreed by the presidents of two very different, although friendly, states—Russia and Ukraine. Eduard Dmitriyevich, what is the correct way to refer to your post—commander of the Black Sea Fleet or the Joint Black Sea Fleet?

[Baltin] No, the Joint Black Sea Fleet is an entirely different concept. To date it does not exist. There is no joint fleet, and we are not talking about it just now. I am the commander of the Joint Command of the Black Sea Fleet.

[Plotnikov] Can you clarify this, please?

[Baltin] Well, to clarify this, our intergovernment commission should come to some kind of definition, because my personal opinion and my present understanding may differ from what will be adopted and I would not like to talk about this today.

[Plotnikov] Eduard Dmitriyevich, what are your impressions from what you have seen of the Black Sea Fleet so far?

[Baltin] I should say that many fleet forces made a good impression on me, truly a good impression, because everything should be perceived in comparison. I know the situation, in general, in the Northern Fleet as well as in the Pacific Fleet. I judge from their present situation. I receive telegrams from the chief commander of the navy, from the Ukrainian and Russian Ministries of Defense from which I can draw certain conclusions. I read their military orders, and I write down my decisions that they be put into effect. This is the unique feature of my post. So, to answer your question, I would say that one of the largest of the Black Sea Fleet surface ship forces has left a good impression from the point of view of manning the crews, the quality of the officers' corps, the technical state of the ships. When they say that the Black Sea Fleet is just a pile of rusty old ships you should not believe it. The age of a ship is not measured like that. I can give you an example. When I was serving as a leutenant here on the Black Sea, the American frigate (Legge) was sailing in the Mediterranean. It is still sailing today, and I began my service here in 1958. You can imagine how old it is. There was the (Bulknab) in the Mediterranean in those days, and it is still there; it is now part of their group of ships in the Adriatic and is their staff ship.

[PLotnikov] It has even called in here once...

[Baltin, interrupting] Yes. They are much older than the ships of the Black Sea Fleet, but they are in active service. There is a sufficient number of new ships in the Black Sea Fleet, big ships at that. They have no limits imposed on them as to the state of their arms technology. I should say that I was not disappointed with the Fleet after seeing it. Absolutely not. I look at life realistically and want to see it as it really is, without useless wishful thinking.

[Plotnikov] How, in your opinion, should a relationship with the Ukrainian Navy be developing now? Is there any concept of a transitional period and what should it be?

[Baltin] The transitional period has been determined by the Yalta agreement of 3 August 1992. It envisages a time scale up to 1995. What I would like to note, in terms of the difficulties, is that the Yalta agreement was signed at the top level, by the presidents. It seems that these interstate commissions should now come to agree on some plan for this transitional period which would outline the practical actions to be carried out in accordance with the Yalta agreement in more detail, especially the practical actions. Then it will make my task easier for me as well as for the Joint Command which was formed. A man does not exist by himself. He is being made by a poitical system, or a state system. The army is an inalienable attribute of a state. Even the pope has an army. Absolutely every sovereign state has an army.

[Plotnikov] In connection with this, I have a question: The Black Sea Fleet has become the most politicized fleet. This is, probably, regrettable, first of all to seamen themselves. What is your attitude to the political, shall I say, games around the Black Sea Fleet?

[Baltin] You know, simply speaking, this politization has occured because the Fleet was drawn, against its will, into these political games. The issue here is not the problem of the Black Sea Fleet. It is about the different problems. I shall not be divulging them now.

### Armed Forces Chiefs Discuss Retirees' Social Welfare

*LD1203234693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by Mikhail Zotov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The headquarters of the Main Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces has decided to look closely at the problem of retired servicemen and their families. The most complex conditions in which people retired from the army, who in essence have remained in various parts of the former Union without rights and often without a roof over their heads, carry the threat of unpredictable consequences. The representatives of the CIS Joint Armed Forces from the new independent states understand this but there is nothing they can do since there is no appropriate laws and there is no money to pay the pensions. Incidentally, laws on military pensions so far exist only in Belarus, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine.

Anyway, active servicemen are in an even more complex situation. This is how officers' families live in many hot spots. These are former bath-houses in the Kurgan-Tyube garrison.

Today even the higher commanders of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and the Russian Army concede that servicemen and their families live in extremely destitute conditions. Their salaries are very low. But according to press reports a scandal is erupting in the Northwestern Group of Forces in connections with the problem of social protection for servicemen. In spite of their fellow-servicemen's far from easy life, very high-ranking army officers have transferred into Swiss banks $17 million which had been earmarked for Russian servicemen who are being pulled back from abroad. Anyway, that's life —it's Swiss Alps for some and Kurgan-Tyube bath-houses for others.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Mar

*LD1303101393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0812 GMT 13 Mar 83*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The current 8th extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation is the principal topic in today's press. Newspapers run information by their correspondents and ITAR-TASS reports from the Kremlin on the Congress proceedings and comment on politicians' remarks.

Russia is on the eve of great upheavals, TRUD maintains. The newspaper quotes President Boris Yeltsin as saying in his speech at the Congress that "I am for a referendum".

In the opinion of the president, there was no response. He believes that the resolution of the previous Congress attained its goal in the main, making it possible to maintain the fragile balance between the branches of power. The cancellation of the resolution, he said, would upset cooperation and if the Congress adopts the document suggested by the drafting commission, "we would revert to the situation that took shape during the 7th Congress". "I am for a referendum and assume responsibility for its holding and the maintenance of order during it", Yeltsin said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA prefaces a report on the third day of the Congress proceedings with a headline proclaiming that "The Congress has stripped the president of Russia of virtually all powers of a chief executive. The president insists on holding a referendum while the deputies insist on an early election. For fear of tough actions on the part of the executive authority, the deputies cannot bring themselves to wind up the congress proceedings".

"The president for the third time treaded on one and the same rake" is how Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the executive committee of the Civil Union, in an interview with a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, described the president's walk-out after his amendments were turned down.

Lipitskiy's opinion is that "similar demarches were already made at the 6th Congress (when the government staged a walk-out) and at the 7th Congress (when the president upon walking out broadcast to the people)".

"The situation, it must be admitted, is quite unique for Russia: A dictatorship is coming into being through democracy in a Soviet form under the slogan 'A Constitutional Reform According to the Procedure Established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation'", Valeriy Nadezhdin, expert of the Russian president administration, writes in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER).

"There is no doubt that the president's planned-out moves on the third day of the Congress were not unexpected for the parliament speaker. It is a question not of a leak of information from the president's 'headquarters' (it is seen even by the uninitiated). The essence of the situation is in a deliberate and purposeful provoking of the president into taking steps that are the only possible option for him. The crisis quite deliberately has been pushed to the next, higher level".

"Any historical parallels are an unsteady and inaccurate affair," Sergey Zalygin, one of the oldest Russian writers, maintains in TRUD. "Let historians speak about history", he maintains.

PRAVDA's opinion, based on a number of exclusive interviews with deputies to the Congress, is that "there would be no social outbursts on the morrow". This was the newspaper's resume of the results of the third day of the Congress proceedings.

"Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, having limited himself mainly to the statement that there is a crisis situation in the economy, did not suggest a programme for a way out of the crisis, to the disappointment of many participants in the Congress," writes SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

"Whatever the subject of a conversation between straightforward in a Siberian way Boris Yeltsin and aristocratically refined Francois Mitterrand, Yeltsin would inevitably find a common language with him when the conversation would turn to the restoration of peace wherever it is upset, the maintenance of political stability in the international arena, cooperation and accord in the interests of all countries," writes NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the eve of the French president's forthcoming visit to Moscow. The visit begins next week.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov—commenting at the request of a ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI newspaper correspondent, on accusations being levelled at the Russian Government by Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Russian Parliament's Budget Planning Commission, who maintained that the government ate up all gold reserves—firmly assured that "the gold reserve has increased and the currency reserves of the state have grown considerably over the past year".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI runs the full text of the Russian president's speech at the congress on Friday under the headline "I Came Here With Hope". Commenting on the congress proceedings, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI arrived at a conclusion that all appeals to the congress for the stability of power in the country "remained unanswered".

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) newspaper, touching upon Friday's closed-door talks between President Boris Yeltsin, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, points out that the talks were aimed at finding a way out of the deadlock.

The congress reached a deadlock after its refusal to accept Yeltsin's amendments to the draft resolution on the first item on the agenda—on the destiny of the previous congress resolution about the need to stabilise the constitutional system in Russia, the newspaper writes with reference to the words of Mikhail Poltoranin, director of the Federal Information Centre.

### Christopher Assures Kozyrev of U.S. Support

*LD1303090693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had a telephone conversation on Friday [12 March] with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and assured him that the United States firmly supports President Yeltsin's efforts to build democracy and a market economy.

### U.S. Said Aiding Kozyrev Find U.S. Job for Wife

*PM1203115393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

["Own information" report: "Will We Be Friends As Families?"]

[Text] New York—We have learned that a curious meeting took place in the U.S. capital last Friday [12 March]—between the rector of a Washington university and the wife of Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev. According to informed sources, the run-up of this event was as follows: Some time ago, before the Geneva meeting between the chief diplomats of Russia and the United States, Kozyrev put a request of a personal nature to the U.S. side, namely, taking his "vulnerable"—this was the word used—position into account, to help find a job for his wife in America. The U.S. Administration then turned to the rector of a university with an international relations faculty—such a job and specialty were evidently discussed. It is characteristic that the aforesaid rector is expecting a very high appointment in the new administration. We have been told that "the discussion ended satisfactorily."

### Clinton Remarks on Need To Support Russia Pondered

*PM1203140993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 7*

[Sergey Filatov article under the rubric "Our Commentary": "Signal to Moscow"]

[Text] The French president's visit to the United States, so Vladislav Drobkov, our own correspondent in Washington, reports, has assumed a clear Russian "slant." Both Francois Mitterrand and U.S. President Bill Clinton have spoken in favor of a special meeting of the leaders of the seven industrial powers to discuss how to boost Western assistance for Russia's reforms.

Despite the fact that Japan does not want to hold an early "G-7" meeting before the Tokyo round planned for July, in Clinton's words, "one way or another we all have to deal with the Russian question before July."

Mitterrand also supports the idea of an early meeting of the "G-7." "I think that this is really necessary because there are urgent problems, especially in East Europe and Russia," the French president has stated.

This unison over the "Russian question" is clearly no coincidence. After all, the discussions centered on a subject which neither the United States, France, nor the whole "G-7" will be able to resolve without a solution to Russia's problems. The presidents discussed the prospects for establishing global partnership in the post-cold war era, a question of undoubtedly historic proportions since it would seem that this is a question of a new partition of the world, although let us hope only an economic partition. It is very indicative that against this background the bilateral Franco-U.S. mutual understanding appeared virtually immediately. This is a rare occasion—the two presidents agreed that after the visit to Russia scheduled for mid-March the French leader will consult with the U.S. President on the eve of Clinton's meeting with Yeltsin in Vancouver 4 April.

It is also notable that Clinton gave a fairly frank explanation as to why it is necessary to give Russia material assistance. "One of the reasons making us actively seek out the means to help Russia restore its economy and preserve political freedoms," he said, "is the understanding that in the absence of other opportunities the Russians will increasingly gravitate toward arms sales as the only way of earning hard currency, stimulating the economy, and maintaining production."

This is a remarkable admission. Having squeezed Russia out of many arms markets the Americans are now beginning to worry: Will it not try to recover the lost ground? Perhaps it is the supply of arms to Abu Dhabi, where Russian weaponry attracted the attention of potential purchasers, that has frightened them so much? Most likely they will now begin to promise us more handouts like the notorious $24 billion, and use that pretext to pressure Kozyrev's Foreign Ministry into blocking the emerging deals for the sale of Russian arms on the world market, where Western corporations have the most clout today. Then the promises will remain just promises and we will not get the billions for the weapons. And Russia will not grow stronger.

The two countries' presidents discussed other topics too: Yugoslavia, the Near East, the European integration process, and world trade relations. But the key to the meeting, I repeat, was the Russian problem. So if the leaders of two leading world powers have reached such close agreement thanks to a problem which stands in the way of their "global partnership," this is a serious signal to Moscow.

### Agreement Signed With U.S. on Grain Supplies

*LD1303072293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0530 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] In the U.S. capital, the United States and Russia have signed an intergovernmental agreement on delivering to Russia, free of charge, 520,000 tonnes of U.S. wheat and 87,000 tonnes of rice, worth $100 million, in the shortest possible time. The U.S. Government has confirmed that it intends to use its food reserves to support countries like Russia which are prepared to use elements of free entrepreneurship in their agrarian sector.

### Foreign Ministry Official on Yugoslav Situation

*OW1203155293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents A. Borodin, D. Voskoboynikov, I. Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow hopes the Vance-Owen plan for the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be signed by the end of next week, a high-ranking official at the Russian Foreign Ministry told INTERFAX on Friday [12 March]. He was not sure, however, that this would happen since both Muslim and Serbian Bosnian leaders often changed their positions.

If one or both sides refused to sign the set of agreements proposed by Cyrus R. Vance and Lord Owen, heavy international pressure would be put on them, the official said. In that case, the matter would apparently be handled by foreign ministers within the framework of the Geneva negotiation process, or by a second conference in London. "Very strict measures" would have to be taken against the party refusing to sign the documents. "Everybody in Bosnia-Hercegovina has to realize that they would live in a single, though a decentralized, state," the official said.

He hesitated to say when Russia would establish diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Hercegovina, which it has already recognized. Practical steps in that direction could not be taken before the Vance-Owen plan began to be carried out, he said, and before bodies were set up in the republic able to control the situation there.

Commenting on statements of some members of the Clinton Administration to the effect that Washington could apply stricter sanctions against Belgrade, the official said, "We cannot accept this." He said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had agreed in Geneva on February 25 that "it is not the sanctions that should be tightened but control of their implementation." Russia believes that use of harsher sanctions at the present "critical point" in the Bosnian conflict could wreck the whole negotiation process.

Moscow could not, of course, object to the strict implementation of measures specified in Resolutions 757 and 787 of the United Nations Security Council, the official said. However, tighter control of the implementation of the sanctions would mean that fewer loopholes would remain to avoid carrying out the Security Council resolutions," [no opening quotation marks as received] he said.

### Cargo Planes Ready To Drop Aid Over Bosnia

*LD1303132893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1111 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar—Two Russian cargo planes are ready to deliver 30 tonnes of humanitarian aid and drop them over the Bosnian territory, an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from a high-ranking source at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry. The State Committee for Emergencies and the Russian Defense Ministry are directly involved in this action, which is being coordinated by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry. According to the diplomat, the exact dates of the action have not yet been finalized because "this issue is still being discussed by the Russian Government."

### Concern Over DPRK Decision To Withdraw From Nuclear Treaty

*LD1203200893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1936 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Shubin]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry has expressed deep concern about North Korea's decision to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

In a statement issued on Friday, the ministry said Russia, as one of the key depositories of the treaty aimed at ensuring global peace and security, cannot remain indifferent to any decision, no matter who adopts it, which undermines the global non-proliferation regime.

"We would like to hope that Pyongyang will consider with all responsibility possible consequences of its steps and the decision adopted by the North Korean government will be changed. We are convinced that strict observance of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty meets the interests of North Korea in the first place and stability and security in the Korean Peninsula as a whole," the statement said.

In this situation, Russia intends to get in touch with other depositories of the treaty to discuss joint tactics, the statement said.

#### Ambassador Explains Decision

*LD1203223293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by V. Budnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The North Korean ambassador to Russia held a news conference today on his country's decision to withdraw from the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The ambassador tried to explain this move by two reasons: the beginning of the U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" maneuvers and, allegedly, an illegal demand to allow international inspectors into some military installations. Obviously these explanations are not convincing. The world community regards the withdrawal from the treaty as yet another proof of North Korea's desire to possess a nuclear bomb.

The ambassador admitted that semi-martial law has been introduced in the country. The receiving of foreign delegations and tourists has been stopped. The army is on a state of full combat readiness. He confirmed that the situation on the border between North and South Korea is so tense at present that a war could break out any moment.

## More on Remarks

*LD1303103393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1654 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—A situation has now arisen on the Korean peninsula in which no one knows when a new war might break out which threatens to affect not only the Asiatic region but also the entire world. This was stated by Son Song-pil, North Korea's ambassador in Russia, at a news conference held today in connection with the statement by his country's government on North Korea's withdrawal from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Explaining why the DPRK took such a serious step, the ambassador explained that Pyongyang decided unilaterally to tear up the treaty first because of what he considered to be the "unjust" decision of the International Atomic Energy Agency Secretariat to inspect two nonnuclear military installations on North Korea's territory and second because of the holding of the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit 93" exercises in the south of the peninsula. These actions, Son Song-pil said, were inspired by the United States and were not aimed at eliminating the threat, including the "absolutely unfounded" nuclear threat from our side but at eliminating "the Korean model of socialism." Withdrawal from the treaty, Son Song- pil stressed, is aimed at defending the interests not only of the DPRK, but also of all developing countries which "tomorrow, if we submit to diktat, could become victims of U.S. imperialism."

The ambassador described as "unwise" the intention of the United States and South Korea to appeal to the UN Security Council and the international community in an attempt to "impose" on them the adoption of some sort of sanctions against North Korea in connection with its decision to withdraw from the treaty. If such sanctions are indeed adopted, we will not recognize them and we will react "with the most resolute measures in response," Son Song-pil stated.

Replying to a question fom the ITAR-TASS correspondent, the ambassador denied the report put out by the South Korean YONHAP agency about the alleged expulsion of all foreign diplomats from Pyongyang.

## Action 'Reinforces Distrust'

*SK1303063193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[From the "Today's World" program]

[Text] The DPRK has decided to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] on the grounds that it can no longer carry out the obligations required by the NPT. The DPRK Government has adopted a relevant decision.

The step taken by Pyongyang arouses concern. The NPT helps prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The refusal to be a signatory to the treaty and withdrawal from it gave rise to a certain suspicion, noted our station commentator (Kristin).

How can the DPRK action be explained? According to an official spokesman, the DPRK does not want to be a captive of the treaty. The treaty failed to realize the hopes for expediting the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from the ROK, thereby removing nuclear danger to North Korea, the spokesman said.

At the same time, a DPRK Government statement noted that the forces hostile to North Korea and some official figures of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] Secretariat were using the treaty to oppose the DPRK's sovereignty and obliterate the socialism of the DPRK. The statement rejected the IAEA (?proposal) to inspect the North Korean military facilities. The statement noted that the IAEA is siding with the U.S. action against North Korea attempting to make the so-called North Korean nuclear issue an international issue, impose collective sanctions, and put pressure on North Korea.

The problems noted by the Pyongyang spokesman do exist seen from one side. Some countries, including the United States, Japan, and the ROK, stress that the DPRK is carrying on a military nuclear project. Despite the fact that Pyongyang is carrying on the project, North Korea refuses to allow the IAEA inspection teams to visit the two sites. This only reinforces distrust.

The removal of distrust conforms with the interest of the DPRK as well. However, one must admit that Pyongyang's complaint has reason.

The United States claims that it has withdrawn nuclear weapons from its military bases in the ROK. North Korea calls for the verification of it. Judging from a certain position, this demand seems quite right. If the United States and the ROK succeed in dispelling North Korea's worries, they will benefit from it. Openness and [word indistinct] can remove suspicion and worries. I think both sides ought to know this.

The DPRK's withdrawal from the NPT, which it signed in the middle of the 1980's, is bound to bring grave consequences. This is applicable to the DPRK itself in the first place, because people cannot understand the DPRK's action and express concern about it. This is also applicable to the prospects for North-South reunification and the UN's endeavor to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Pyongyang's action will only activate the efforts of the countries that are plotting to possess atomic bombs. Regrettably, there are such countries. One should admit this, judging from all the indications.

### Spokesman Says Moscow To Clarify KAL Downing

*OW1203165393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a 10 March meeting in Moscow of representatives from the governments of South Korea, Japan, the United States, and Russia, the Russian delegation briefed the other participants on the work that had been done by the president's committee for investigating the downing of Korean Air Lines flight 007 in 1983. Russian Foreign Ministry Department of Information and the Press Director Sergey Yastrzhembskiy reported on events at a Friday [12 March] briefing in Moscow.

He said that "this again demonstrated our readiness to do whatever is necessary to completely clarify all aspects of the incident, including multilateral cooperation with the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] in the preparation of a corresponding report; hope was again expressed that other countries would also do all they could in this matter."

Yastrzhembskiy noted that the participants in the meeting had praised the work done by the ICAO together with experts from the four parties concerned on the "black box" recordings and expressed thanks to the government of France for providing essential technical support and to the United States and the Boeing Corporation for their readiness to carry out a simulation of the incident in Seattle.

"The bulk of the attention of the representatives at the meeting was directed at humanitarian questions linked with the incident, including the construction of a memorial in the city of Nevelska and the holding of a memorial service for the deceased. An agreement was also reached to continue joint work for the resolution of remaining questions," said Yastrzhembskiy.

### Kozyrev Plays Down Territorial Dispute With Japan

*LD1403223793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has stated that both Japanese and Russian attitudes to the territorial problem are growing calmer. In an interview with the RIA agency, he noted that it would be unrealistic to say, in the manner of the old diplomats of the Soviet school, that no such problem exists. But to say that it is the main issue in our relations with Japan is absolutely absurd. If both Japanese and Russian attitudes to the territorial issue are growing calmer, then we must be on the right track, Andrey Kozyrev stressed.

In his interview he also touched on the disarmament issue. The question that inevitably arises is what is more profitable for Russia, the minister noted. By lowering the level of confrontation, as envisaged by the Start-II treaty, Russia does not lose out in terms of its security, but it will save a great deal of money.

### Tokyo Hopes Russian Reforms Will Continue

*LD1203180993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo March 12 TASS—The Japanese Government hopes that President Yeltsin will overcome difficulties and continue the policy of reforms aimed at the transition to a free market economy and pursuing a foreign policy based on principles of respect for law and justice, said Misamichi Hanabusa, press secretary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, at a briefing for foreign journalists on Friday.

In reply to a question by ITAR-TASS correspondent, the Japanese official said that an invitation extended to the Russian Vice-Prime Minister Boris Fedorov to attend the G-7 meeting which opens in Hong Kong on Friday is a "sincere gesture" from the seven industrialized nations confirming their intention to continue support of serious efforts made by the Russian Government for the implementation of reforms.

Hanabusa said that the territorial question is not likely to be raised in Hong Kong.

Touching upon the possibility of an emergency meeting of the G-7 countries devoted exclusively to problems of aid to Russia, the Japanese official said that if this meeting took place, it should yield positive results.

### Fedorov To Seek G-7's 'Large-Scale' Support

*OW1203164193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow would like the G-7, jointly with Russian experts and international financial agencies, to draft a large-scale program of support for the reforms in Russia, a high-ranking Russian diplomat who is preparing Boris Yeltsin's participation in the G-7 summit, told INTERFAX. He let it be known that Vice-Premier Boris

Fedorov will raise this particular question at the Hong Kong conference of representatives of G-7 leaders on March 13 and 14.

This diplomat believes that an international program of support for Russian reforms should be based on the policy of reforms developed by the Russian Government, and that foreign aid should be an integral part. Naturally, this implies that the Cabinet's plans will be coordinated with the IMF.

Touching upon other priority aspects of aid to Russia, this diplomat emphasized the importance of extending a loan for export- oriented branches, of restructuring Russia's foreign debt and of giving Moscow $6 Bn [billion] for the Ruble Stabilization Fund (this sum has figured in the IMF's plans for a long time).

### Official Notes Concern Over Angola Situation

*LD1203232093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1616 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Ahubin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—In accordance with the Lisbon accords and resolutions of the UN Security Council, Russia, the United States, and Portugal as countries monitoring the settlement process in Angola have applied and are applying efforts to stop the bloodshed in that African country. This was recalled at a briefing today by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, head of the information and press department of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry. He said the Russian side is concerned over the latest events in Angola, which show that the country is again plunged into virtual civil war.

The recent military actions of UNITA grouping were described by the Foreign Ministry spokesman as persistent unwillingness of the political opposition headed by Jonas Savimbi to accept their defeat at the elections which were recognized by the United Nations as free and just. This, he said, will herald a bleak future of mass violence and terror in Angola, while threatening the country's territorial integrity.

In the situation which has been created, the diplomat said, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has deemed it necessary to go to the United Nations with initiatives aimed at bringing events in Angola back on to a peaceful track. We have called on the Security Council to use all its authority to ensure that all its decisions on Angola are carried out.

In the opinion of Russia, the role of the United Nations and its representatives in Angola must not be allowed to be called into question and to become an object of attacks. The Russian side assumes that the legal government and UNITA can and must resume constructive dialogue. Otherwise, Sergey Yastrzhembskiy said, the world community will have to give comprehensive support to the Angolan Government, including the lifting of the embargo on the military and technical aid it needs.

In the approach to events in Angola, the moment has come, the diplomat said, when the international community must urgently take a tough line against the forces which are ignoring UN Security Council resolutions. The time for delays and fruitless maneuvering is over. Only concerted action based on democratic principles can save the Angolans from further sufferings. And if the efforts for a peaceful settlement in Angola are thwarted, the danger is that destabilizing processes in other parts of the region will also be exacerbated, he concluded.

### Iranian Embassy Denies PRAVDA Report

*LD1203141093 Tehran IRNA in English 1332 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow, March 12, IRNA—The Iranian Embassy here Thursday refuted a claim by the daily PRAVDA that the Islamic Republic was trying to spread its influence in Central Asia.

The embassy in a protest letter to the paper said Iran was keen to expand its relations with the ex-Soviet republics due to the importance of the regional peace and stability for Iran.

It regretted that PRAVDA had followed the policy of forging stories by certain Western media on the alleged threat of the Iranian influence in Central Asia.

The letter drew attention of the daily to the recent remarks of the Turkish President Turgut Ozal in the American Brookings Institute that the propaganda on Iran's alleged threat in the region was the work of "a big power's intelligence organization."

PRAVDA in an article printed on Wednesday March 3 claimed that Iran's economic activity and its positive response to the appeal of the new members of the Economic Cooperation Organization, as well as Tehran's proposal for the establishment of a cooperation organization for the Caspian Sea littoral states all attested to the Iranian "threat."

"The examples only prove the baseless and unfounded claims of the article which is in fact an insult to the regional countries," the letter noted.

The PRAVDA article also alleged that there was an intensive rivalry between Iran and Turkey to infilterate the Central Asian region, adding that the U.S. and Western countries frightened by the spread of Islamic fundamentalism particularly in Central Asia, support Turkey financially and economically.

### Defense Ministry on Georgian Bombing Claim

*OW1303143893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1407 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [12 March], a SU-25 fighter with Russian identification marks dropped bombs on the village of Tsagera in Abkhazia's Ochamchirskiy region, the Georgian armed forces' Ochamchirskiy headquarters informed INTERFAX. As a result of the bomb attack, several buildings were destroyed and nine civilians were wounded, three of them gravely.

The Russian Defense Ministry's press center told INTERFAX that it had no information about the incident.

Meanwhile, the Abkhazian Defense Ministry informed INTERFAX that the Abkhazian aviation was practising operations to suppress the strongholds of the Georgian army in the depth of the defense area and on the eastern front, i.e. in Abkhazia's Ochamchirskiy region. The Abkhazian air forces are equipped with L-39 Czechoslovak training planes.

The Abkhazian Defense Ministry also announced on Saturday that during the past 24 hours there was fighting involving artillery systems along the Georgian-Abkhazian frontline on the Gumista river near Sukhumi. The Georgian army used the Grad missile launchers to shell the villages of Gvandra and Psyrtskha. Some of the buildings were ruined. There were no casualties.

According to the Georgian Defense Ministry, in the Ochamchirskiy region, the Abkhazian units made two attempts to attack the Georgian positions near the village of Labra. Both of the attacks were rebuffed by the Georgian artillery.

This ministry also reports that on Friday, 14 Georgian servicemen were wounded near the village of Labra. The casualties of the Abkhazians are much greater.

The Georgian army is re-grouping forces and strengthening defense installations on the approaches to the villages of Tsagera and Akhaldaba which are the Georgian army's strongholds in the Ochamchirskiy region.

### Defense Ministry Denial

*OW1303170293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Russian Defense Ministry has denied reports about the bombing of an Abkhazian village by a Russian aircraft.

As we reported earlier, the Georgian armed forces' Ochamchira headquarters had announced that on Friday [12 March], an SU-25 fighter with Russian designation marks dropped bombs on the village of Tsagera in Abkhazia's Ochamchira region. As a result, several buildings were destroyed and nine civilians were wounded, three of them gravely.

The Russian Defense Ministry's spokesman informed INTERFAX that not a single Russian aircraft located in the region made any fights on that day.

## Commander Threatens Abkhazia Fighters With Counterstrike

*OW1303143993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1408 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The statement of the operative group commander of the Russian forces in Abkhazia Lieutenant General Sorokin cites that the command of the Russian forces in Abkhazia was forced to establish a 500-meter security zone around Russia's military sites on the republic's territory.

The commander warned the warring parties that if the Russian sites are shelled or attacked then "the guilty will immediately be subjected to a destructive counterstrike with all available arms." The statement emphasizes that the responsibility for possible consequences will be placed on the attacker.

General Sorokin explained this decision by intensive shelling of the Russian military sites stationed on the Abkhazian territory which threatens to the life of the Russian servicemen.

The commander reconfirmed the non-participation of the Russian units in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and their observance of neutrality.

In addition to a 500-meter zone imposed around the Russian military sites, there is a 15-kilometer zone of air security around the Russian military airdrome in the city of Gudauta.

## Military Seismic Station Still Operating in Georgia

*MK1203151093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 2*

[G. Lolishvili report: "Russian Secrets in Nizhnyaya Eshera"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The exacerbation of the situation in Abkhazia and the growing tension around the Russian military presence in the conflict zone have again drawn public attention to a military laboratory in the town of Nizhnyaya Eshera.

According to a KURANTY correspondent's information, the Russian Army installation in Nizhnyaya Eshera is a military seismic laboratory that studies problems in the use of nuclear weapons. Experts maintain that in peacetime such laboratories, also located in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Novaya Zemlya, are monitoring the condition of the earth's crust and its seismic activity. Experiments in the field of targeted [napravlennyy] nuclear explosions are not excluded.

Strategically, the Eshera laboratory is designed to monitor the Near East and African zones and also the southern European flank of NATO.

Dismantling the laboratory would cost Russia an astronomical sum of money.

## Delegate to Talks With Estonia Discusses Topics

*MK1303133893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 3*

[Dmitriy Zhdannikov report under "Talks" rubric: "Marking Time in Lokhusalu. Vasiliy Svirin, Head of the Russian State Delegation for Talks With Estonia, on the Prospects for Relations With the Baltic Republic"]

[Text] "The ninth round of Russian-Estonian interstate talks (between 2 and 4 March in Lokhusalu) was the most complex of all the previous rounds. It cannot be denied that the rather tough comments by Estonian Republic President Lennart Meri and Prime Minister Mart Laar that preceded the talks affected the Estonian delegation's mood, and consequently as of today, after so many rounds of talks and understandings that were seemingly reached in many spheres, we have an excessively highly pitched set of demands from the Estonian side. Above all, this is manifest in the continuation of the tactic selected somewhat earlier of scrapping certain already initialed or largely agreed draft agreements," Vasiliy Svirin says.

This is most clearly manifest during discussion of a range of military problems. It is worth remarking that at the previous eight rounds the Russian and Estonian state delegations practically agreed on a draft treaty "On the Withdrawal of Russian Federation Armed Forces from the Estonian Republic and the Conditions of Their Temporary Presence on Its Territory." But after the ninth round, when a fundamentally changed draft version unilaterally prepared by the Estonian side appeared on the negotiating table, certain previously reached understandings regarding social protection for servicemen and conditions of troops' temporary presence all but collapsed. Furthermore, the wording concerning the withdrawal of civilian personnel working at Defense Ministry enterprises and in military units stationed on Estonian Republic territory reappeared. For all the toughness of the Estonian delegation's position, which is demanding the soonest possible withdrawal of Russian Federation troops from its territory, Svirin believes a paradoxical situation is developing. The point is that Estonia's competent organs are refusing to allow Russian naval forces' ships to enter its ports; nor are they allowing military transport aircraft being sent to take out Russian Federation Army property to overfly its territory, thereby hindering the Army's earliest possible withdrawal.

A special question in the talks process on military questions is that of the base in Paldiski, regarding which the sides generally agree that Russian troops will be able to leave it a few years later than the final troop withdrawal scheduled for the end of 1994. This can be attributed to the fact that this is a question of two nuclear reactors and two storage facilities for solid and liquid radioactive waste, the means to decontaminate which do not currently exist. The Russian Defense Ministry is naturally helping in this matter, while the delegation's experts do not exclude the possibility that International Atomic Energy Agency people will be brought in.

But while some progress in solving military questions can nonetheless be observed, the situation concerning the draft treaty on settling the citizenship problem has, according to Svirin, developed in a simply unique way. During the eight rounds the delegations could not even agree on a concept for this treaty, and although it was handed over to the Estonian side back in January 1992, the Russian delegation has been encountering a categorical unwillingness to discuss this question seriously.

The unsettled questions also include the question of the existing borders between the two states, which Estonia is refusing to recognize. In its opinion the normative borders must accord with the 1920 peace treaty's articles, while the Russian side considers this option a "road to nowhere" and is threatening to view it as territorial claims against Russia. On the whole, the gloomy picture of the "divorce" talks brightens only when the subject under discussion is economics and private enterprise. The ninth round of the talks culminated in the initialing of a document on cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, and agreements on nontrade payments, mutual encouragement of investment, and trade and economic cooperation in 1993 are being finalized. The initialed document on the exchange of information regarding people applying for the right to reside in Russia or Estonia and on the expulsion of those residing without legal grounds stands all by itself.

"Despite even such insignificant progress on the talks' most important questions, they should not be likened to a conference in permanent session, and we should especially not be accused of lacking the proper powers," Svirin believes. "The powers exist, and the Russian side is sincerely disposed toward a patient examination of all disputed problems and questions."

## Ministry Spokesman on Latvian 'Radicals,' Human Rights

*OW1203154293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents A. Borodin, D. Voskoboynikov, I. Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Head of the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Press and Information Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy made these comments at His Briefing on Friday [12 March]...

### ...Re Latvian "National Radicals'" Exploits

On March 16, a number of Latvian radical-national-orientated social and political organizations are planning to stage celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Latvian SS Legion. The latter was set up on Adolf Hitler's order in 1943 on the basis of volunteer police battalions which had been taking part in punitive raids and combat operations at the Germany's Eastern Front.

"Apparently the organizers of numerous functions, including a gala meeting in Riga, seek to embellish former SS-men by presenting them as 'national heroes.' Concomitantly, they want to gain points in the political election campaign which is now in full swing in Latvia.

"With the nonchalant attitude in that regard of the powers-that- be, certain forces in Latvia have been waging a campaign for consecrating the memory of the Latvian SS legionaries, surrounding it with speculations about the 'irrelevance' of memorials commemorating the republic's liberation from the Nazi occupation. Latvia has officially stopped marking the memorial dates associated with it, V-Day being one of them.

"Remarkably, when the veterans of Russia's 'Peace March' organization were going to visit Riga to pay homage to the memory of their fallen comrades-in-arms, some of Latvia's high-standing officials tried to misinterpret this trip as 'interference in Latvia's internal affairs.'

"I am hopeful that the Latvian authorities will make appropriate assessment of the ongoing attempts at rehabilitating Hitler fascism and its henchmen, and they will preclude the activity which is bound to further complicate social atmosphere in the republic, which is already tense, impair Russian-Latvian relations, and invoke negative response by international public."

### And Re Results of the UN 49TH Session on Human Rights...

"On March 10, the UN 49th human rights session in Geneva passed a resolution, in the form of the chairman's statement, related to the human rights situation in Latvia and Estonia. This document crowns the long and painstaking work which has been conducted by the closely cooperating Russian, Estonian and Latvian delegations, with Finland acting as a mediator. The statement contains a call to all the parties concerned to refrain from any official statements or activities which could have detrimental effect on the confidence building measures among the people living in those republics.

"Meantime, this document is attaching special importance to the interests of representatives of other nationalities residing in Estonia and Latvia, noting their aspiration to become equal members of society. It will, however, would not be fulfilled unless ethnic Russians were granted such rights there. [sentence as received]

"The document is also highlighting the difficulties the population of these countries has come to grips with, including those originating from the existing legislation.

"Such a conclusion of the Baltic issue by the Commission was positively received by the delegations of Western countries who were actively participating in shaping the decision."

## Official Sees Kaliningrad as Home for Ethnic Germans

*LD1203233793 Berlin ADN in German 2057 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Kaliningrad (ADN)—In the view of Horst Waffenschmidt, the Kaliningrad area can become a new home for many Russian ethnic Germans, who are at present living in other parts of Russia and in other CIS states. This was said by the Federal Government's commissioner responsible for resettlers while opening a German-Russian cultural center in Kaliningrad (Konigsberg) today.

The resources for the building were made available by the Federal Government. The center is intended, among other things, to help improve the living conditions of Russian ethnic Germans living in this region, the parliamentary state secretary said.

Waffenschmidt visited the region earlier to discuss the possibility of Russian ethnic Germans settling there with the relevant authorities. About 5,000 Russian ethnic Germans live in the Kaliningrad region at present. The leadership of the region is prepared to take in more members of this national minority.

## Foreign Trade Ministry Holds Collegium on Strategy

*MK1203103093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 3*

[Vadim Bardin report: "Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Collegium on Foreign Trade in 1993. Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Thinks About Tomorrow"]

[Text] The immediate prospects of Russia's economic policy depend directly on the Paris Club's stance on foreign debt deferment. As we know, the deferment expires at the end of March. Of special interest in this connection is a closed-door session of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations collegium held yesterday. The collegium in fact focused on general questions of the ministry's strategy in 1993-95 which, KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe, is hardly likely to influence today's situation. Besides, left out from examination were such questions as the proposals of the Russian Bank and the Ministry of Finance on altering the hard-currency regulation system, which, in its turn, sets priorities in export- import activity.

The progress report presented at the ministry collegium session by Aleksandr Ageyev, head of the administration dealing with strategy in and the analysis of foreign economic activity, had rather the air of a planning statement and offered no answers to the questions that constitute today's headache for people involved in foreign economic relations. The report essentially consisted in the listing of rather obvious objectives. No specific mechanism to achieve them was outlined. The speaker limited himself to stating the fact that liberalization, by bringing to the fore the immediate participants in foreign economic relations, had resulted in the state's losing its role of coordinator of this activity. Laying special stress on the centralization of raw material exports first and foremost, the speaker at the same time proposed that Russian private business should stimulate the development of economic relations with countries that enjoy the status of priority partners. Among the countries of greatest importance to Russia he singled out the United States, Japan, Britain, Germany, France, Canada, and countries of East Europe. The manner in which the stimulation is supposed to be achieved remained unclear (as did the choice of countries).

As was to be expected, the report as a whole was noted, and further steps will be taken within an unspecified timeframe to supplement the current foreign economic activity strategy (adopted as long ago as last summer) with regional and sectoral foreign trade priorities; we can distinguish here a parallel with the drafting of foreign policy strategy inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts note that the ministry collegium took no notice of such questions—all important for real foreign trade practice—as the Central Bank proposals on the introduction of a fixed ruble rate, or the Finance Ministry proposal for a 10-percent hard-currency tax on export earnings with the objective of forming a fund to repay the foreign debt. KOMMERSANT-DAILY wrote about these proposals in February. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, for its part, put forward the idea of centralizing exports of raw materials via the ministry's tendering committee, which in fact will perform an additional selection from among already registered specialized exporters, depending on the proportion of their earnings in hard currency that prospective exporters are prepared to contribute to the state and on the ruble price that they would be paying inside the country for goods being exported. Taken together, the proposals made by the above departments could radically affect the motivation of people involved in foreign economic relations. If, as the Russian Central Bank proposes, there were a fixed rate based on the stock market figure, which is altered as soon as it strays outside a five-percent band, this really could stabilize payments which involve exchange rate conversions.

As for the additional screening of raw material exporters by the ministry's tendering committee and, more importantly, an additional export tax in hard currency, that is tantamount to the statization of the main Russian export items because, as the ongoing wrangle over hard-currency contributions by enterprises in the gas and oil industry shows, state-owned exporters will also enjoy preferential terms with respect to the new tax. Thus, irrespective of the ministry collegium, Russia's foreign economic relations find themselves at a crossroads.

**Share of Individual Countries in Russian Energy Exports in 1992 (in percentages):**

| | oil | gas |
|---|---|---|
| Germany | 29.5 | 23.2 |
| Italy | 11.5 | 10.0 |
| United States | 1.0 | |
| Czech and Slovak Republics | 15.0 | 14.9 |
| France | 7.9 | 12.9 |
| Poland | 9.1 | 7.8 |
| Britain | 3.3 | |
| Finland | | 2.5 |
| Netherlands | 4.3 | |
| Yugoslavia | 0.3 | |
| Austria | 2.2 | 5.2 |

## Danish Defense Minister Visits Baltic Fleet

*PM1203113593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 3*

[Report by Valeriy Gromak: "Danish Defense Minister Has Completed Visit"]

[Text] Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekerrup's official visit to Russia has ended in the Baltic Fleet.

The eminent guest met with Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, Guards Major General Anatoliy Pimenov, commander of the 11th Guards Army, Yuriy Matochin, chief of the Kaliningrad Oblast administration, and Yuriy Semenov, chairman of the oblast soviet. Hans Haekerrup also visited the Baltic Fleet's chief base—Baltiysk—where he familiarized himself with the life and daily routine of the Baltic sailors on the escort ship Neukrotimyy and the MRK Liven.

## UN Condemnation of Cuban Rights Violations Viewed

*PM1203162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 3*

[Yevgeniy Bay report: "Cuban Regime Condemned Again For Mass Violations of Human Rights. But Mild Wording Adopted at UN Human Rights Commission Session Regarding Latvia, Estonia, and Tajikistan"]

[Text] Geneva, Moscow—Like last year, a resolution condemning Cuba for mass human rights violations was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the UN Human Rights Commission session now being held in Geneva.

"The Russian delegation will vote against the resolution on Cuba only over my dead body," Sergey Adamovich Kovalev, head of the Russian delegation, told me on the eve of his departure from Geneva for the congress that is opening in Moscow.

The opinion of the chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Human Rights was undoubtedly taken into account by the delegation. Russia was one of the 27 countries which approved the resolution condemning the Cuban authorities for mass violations of human rights. Only 10 countries voted against the resolution with 15 abstentions.

The list of violations ran to 42 pages in a special report delivered to the session by the Swedish diplomat Carl-Johan Groth. The main violations are the persecution and punishment of dissident citizens, the lack of freedom of speech and right to create independent political parties and trade union organizations, flagrant violations of the norms governing the upkeep of prisoners in the island's jails, bans on free exit from the country, and many others.

In the opinion of the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Russian delegation in Geneva, any discussion on human rights must begin with bilateral consultations. Last year this tactic began to bear fruit in our relations with China which, as Russian delegation spokesman T. Ramishvili pointed out, led for the first time to the discussion of the human rights theme. At the same time Beijing's very approach to cooperation with the United Nations in this sphere has changed. As a result, despite the perceptible difference in the attitude of Russia and Western countries to China, a certain consensus has been achieved in Geneva. Last Wednesday the UN Commission voted by a majority of 22 for "no action to be taken" against China in the human rights sphere.

This tactic does not work with Cuba. Havana has ostentatiously refused to discuss human rights problems both in relations with Russia and at the UN level. In the words of Russian diplomats, the Russian Foreign Ministry presented the authorities in Havana with a list of political prisoners on the island (with a request that the charges against them be clarified): The Cuban representative in Moscow replied with nothing but a skeptical grin. For several years now Havana has refused to allow a UN special representative to assess the situation on the spot, with the result that in Geneva Cuba has been placed on the list of those countries where far and away the most serious human rights violations occur (Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Haiti, and Burma were among those condemned during the vote on Wednesday).

Along with these resolutions, which are binding on UN members, the Geneva commission also spoke on Wednesday on the problem of human rights in Latvia, Estonia, and Tajikistan. In the statement of the chairman of the session that was adopted there is an appeal to "all interested parties" to refrain from actions which "might prejudice the strengthening of confidence among people living in those republics."

Drawing attention to the fairly "mild" wording of the statement the Russian representatives note that Moscow is interested not in "bombastic and crude words" addressed to the Baltic countries in particular but in "progress" on the citizenship question, which only those states alone can resolve.

# Eighth Congress of People's Deputies

## Activities Surrounding 12 Mar Session Reported

### Chernomyrdin Comments on Morning Session

*LD1203173393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Remarks by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to N. Chernyshova following the 12 March morning session of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies; place not given; from the "Novosti" program—recorded]

[Text] [Chernomyrdin] I am convinced that not every one knows and not every one has an idea of all the drama resulting from the decision that was just made. After all, I must tell you that yesterday we introduced a special commission made up of the president, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and the prime minister to prepare this decision. All of us worked for two hours, worked through the whole of this document, and found agreement on all points. Proposals made by the president, in which he presented his options, were adopted.

The commission virtually agreed, and for us today—for instance for me—today was somewhat unexpected. Also unexpected was that what was proposed by the president was not accepted, and another thing unexpected was the fact that the fourth point, as far as the government is concerned, as far as industry is concerned, the proposal is not acceptable. Well, if we again want to have a government that will essentially be a semi-government, then we are already returning to the old way; that is, to a situation where it is not clear who is responsible for what.

[Chernyshova] Can the government guarantee stability in the country?

[Chernomyrdin] There are no grounds for any clashes. Once again, the government is working, all institutions are working, and so is everything in the regions. There are no grounds at all for this. I am telling you once more—I simply want you to pay attention to this—there are no grounds at all for alarm.

### Justice Minister Interviewed

*LD1203174693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Interview with Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov by unidentified correspondent following end of afternoon session of Congress of Russian People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Fedorov] What I was talking about was very much to the point—even though I say it myself—but anyway a lawyer, much less the minister of justice, is not going to refer to rumors in his speech, as is the fashion among deputies, or to what he may have heard or seen somewhere. Of course, all that I said is confirmed in writing, and I take responsibility for every letter and every number, but as a lawyer I was particularly depressed by today. It seems to me that the deputies are either extremely tired or are at the same time very frightened of something, in the psychological sense, and their sense of reason and moderation has betrayed them utterly. They adopted a range of decisions today which in my view are absolutely unconstitutional, anti-constitutional, and anti-presidential.

[Correspondents] Even though representatives of the Constitutional Court were present throughout the Congress? What do you think: can they interfere in what is going on at the Congress and say one thing is constitutional and another unconstitutional? Is such a procedure laid down in the Congress regulations?

[Fedorov] In theory, the Constitutional Court and members of the Constitutional Court have the right to express their conclusions, all the more so because the Constitutional Court had plenty of time to consider the principles—the illegal principles—that were adopted by the Congress today; they were suspended and temporarily blocked for three months because they had already been adopted at the previous Congress, but today the Congress confirmed that it could use its so-called right of the all-powerful soviets, not only to replace the Constitutional Court by itself—which the Constitutional Court unfortunately swallowed without taking any offense, whereas I as a lawyer am ashamed of this—but they also decided that they can replace the investigation. In other words, basically everything returned to square one today, when the Congress believed that it was both the judge and the investigator—whatever it wanted.

The Congress, because it reasons, if I may say so, collectively, is a body which is not personally liable for anything in the juridical sense. It is impossible to prosecute the Congress. In this situation it is clear that by the laws of the science of government and by historical laws, the Congress will be directed by he who is professionally engaged within that Congress. I could sketch the outline of that figure, I think everybody can guess. It follows that even if the majority of deputies do not realize it, the Congress today pushed Russia toward leaving the arena of legality, as it has recently been called, and beyond the bounds of the Constitution. This is very dangerous, and is a move toward each one of us not counting for anything; that is, we are beginning to rub away the last thing we can rely on—in the form of the Constitution.

### Shumeyko Interviewed on Referendum

*LD1203174793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Interview with Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, by N. Chernyshova on 12 Mar; place not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Chernyshova] In this situation, what about your activity as chairman of the government commission for the holding of the referendum?

[Shumeyko] For me, personally, as chairman of the state commission for the preparation of the referendum, nothing has changed. I am instructed by the president to hold the referendum. The president has not decided against holding it. That is why, at 1500 today, I will assemble our government commission and we will again examine the questions. The situation has changed; probably four questions will be too many. Most likely, we will leave two—the first one being: Do you agree that Russia should be a presidential republic? And the last one is: Do you agree that each citizen of the Russian Federation is entitled to possess, dispose of, and use land with owner's rights? These two questions alone will today enable the president to continue implementing the reform.

## More on Shumeyko Remarks

*LD1203190593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1737 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko said at a news conference here following today's work of the Congress of People's Deputies that the president of Russia "has not relieved of its powers the government commission for preparing for holding the referendum." He said that the referendum cannot be held on 11 April, because by law 30 days must pass between confirmation of the questions and the beginning of voting. If, therefore, the Congress makes a positive decision on the referendum it will be necessary to postpone it.

Commenting on today's meeting between Boris Yeltsin, Ruslan Khasbulatov, Valeriy Zorkin, and Viktor Chernomyrdin, Vladimir Shumeyko said its participants suggested that the president should make another speech to the Congress. However, Boris Yeltsin said that he has "said everything he could to the Congress." His position has not changed on any of the issues discussed, and he has already taken responsibility for the referendum.

Speaking on the possible questions for a new referendum, Vladimir Shumeyko pointed out that it is difficult to predict what the Congress will do next. "Deputies want to change the president's questions, since he has accepted responsibility. But we will not agree to that. The only thing that can be said for certain is that the question on land will remain, as more than two million Russians have expressed their support for it," he said.

## Shakhray on Possibility of Compromise

*LD1203175493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Interview with Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray by correspondent N. Chernyshova in Moscow on 12 March at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies—recorded]

[Text] [Chernyshova] Is it possible today, in this very serious situation, to nevertheless find some compromise decision which suits both sides?

[Shakhray] Unfortunately, the Congress did not agree to a consensus. Is this good or bad? Bad, of course. But there is no need to view this as a tragedy. It is very important that for the time being little is left, but there are two legitimate ways of resolving the conflict. One is voting—a referendum. The other is early elections. Both methods are based on the Constitution, on the principle of sovereignty of the people, and neither the Congress nor the president is able to take away the people's right to a referendum. That is why I do not think there is any need to make a tragedy out of this. A vote will take place: the people will themselves determine matters.

## Electoral Commission Not To Hold Referendum

*OW1203174393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1729 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has decided not to hold the referendum on April 11, because the Supreme Soviet has failed to present the wording of questions within the deadline set by the law.

First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko has said that the editorial commission of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, which has continued to study various options, has approved by a majority vote a draft resolution asking President Yeltsin and the subjects of the Federation to submit to the Supreme Soviet their proposals for the referendum. The draft is expected to be submitted to the congress on Saturday, March 13.

Shumeyko, who is the head of the government commission for the referendum, has said that the question of the private ownership of land will be put up for the referendum "in any case." He also said that another question in the referendum can be the adoption of the a new Russian Constitution by a "constituent assembly," which would adequately represent the changed composition of the Federation, where 22 sovereign republics have emerged instead of the previous autonomies.

## Media 'Will Be' Subordinated to Supreme Soviet

*LD1203152293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] By the way, about the draft decision which was just mentioned by my colleague. Our Television Agency has its text, and judging from it the decision envisages that for the purposes of ensuring the stable work of state television and radio broadcasting and not permitting unconstitutional and unlawful interference in its activity prior to adopting a law on television and radio broadcasting, Ostankino TV Company, Russia Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, and ITAR-TASS news agency will be subordinated to the Supreme Soviet.

Prior to 22 March, upon agreement with the president, it is intended to approve the heads of the federal information services, the television and radio companies and of the news agency.

The state observation commission, the clause on which is to be approved within two weeks, is instructed, together with parliament, to ensure at state television and radio objective coverage of public processes. [Video shows text of decision, to which is appended list of signatures.]

## Heads of Administration Appeal to Congress 12 Mar

*LD1203180893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Appeal read by Yuriy Semenovich Matochkin on behalf of the heads of executive power in the regions to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Khasbulatov] Yuriy Semenovich Matochkin will now speak on behalf of the heads of administration. Go ahead, please, Yuriy Semenovich.

[Matochkin] Esteemed People's Deputies, esteemed Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, esteemed President of the Russian Federation! A meeting of the heads of executive power in the Republics making up the Russian Federation, as well as the krays and oblasts, was held today. I have been instructed to read the following statement:

We, the heads of executive power in the component parts of the Federation, placed great hopes in the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies. There was every reason to be hopeful. These reasons included the decisions of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, the constructive proposals of the president of the Russian Federation, and the statements issued ahead of the Congress by the leaders of the Supreme Soviet and the leaders of power bodies in the component parts of the Federation. We expected this Congress to take another step toward the implementation of the Federation Treaty. We thought that those fragments of accord between the federal authorities which emerged at the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies would be developed, especially as cooperation between representative and executive authorities has greatly improved in most regions, on the basis of the Constitution, the Federation Treaty, and existing legislation.

Unfortunately, the Congress has shown that accord has not been achieved within the leadership of the federal bodies of power. Furthermore, a new escalation of the confrontation between them is possible. The leaders of executive power bodies in the component parts of the Federation express serious concern at the situation which has arisen and declare the following:

1. The leaders of all branches of federal power must immediately halt the political confrontation. The future of Russia is more precious than any political ambitions.

2. We will take all necessary measures to ensure that this confrontation does not spread into the regions, as this would have a ruinous impact on Russia's economy, and would intensify the disintegration processes in our state.

3. We believe that in the near future it is essential to hold an all-Russian conference of heads of representative and executive authorities, in order to hammer out specific measures in order to implement the Federation Treaty within the framework of the existing Constitution.

4. We consider that in these circumstances the powers of the Russian Federation Government and regional executive bodies to administer federal and state assets, and to carry out an independent financial and credit policy, must be significantly expanded.

5. We ask the president of the Russian Federation, the head of the government, and the chairman of the Constitutional Court to hold a joint meeting with the heads of representative and executive authorities in the regions which have signed the Federation Treaty. We call on people's deputies to reflect once again on the destiny of Russia and not to create a fresh conflict between the federal authorities and the regions. They should understand that the destiny of Russia is now being decided, not at the Supreme Soviet, not in the Kremlin Palace, but in the regions which have signed the Federation Treaty.

We call on people's deputies to treat our statement with the utmost seriousness. Our main concern is to secure the assistance of the regions and to ensure that the representative and executive authorities continue to work together in seeking an end to the political and economic crisis in the country.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

[Khasbulatov] Thank you, Yuriy Semenovich.

## Republics' Supreme Soviet Chairmen Make Appeal

*LD1203180793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Speech by People's Deputy Petr Ivanovich Sumin on behalf of the chairmen of supreme soviets of the republics and chairmen of kray and oblast soviets, at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, esteemed President of the Russian Federation, esteemed Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, esteemed members of the Constitutional Court, esteemed guests of the Congress!

The point has come at this Congress when I am obliged, on the instructions of the chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics and the chairmen of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies, to appeal to you. At this rather difficult time for the Russian state we, people's deputies of Russia, must display wisdom, circumspection, courage, and civic responsibility for the fate of Russia and its citizens. We must not allow a further worsening of the confrontation between the federal bodies of power in the Russian Federation. The wish of the Congress of People's Deputies to act within the framework of the constitution of the Russian Federation should not be taken to mean that deputies and the Soviets are seeking to exacerbate the confrontation.

We declare the following: 1. The leaders of the federal bodies of power must immediately end all confrontation of any kind. The fate of Russia is more precious than any political ambitions, no matter whose they may be.

2. We will take all the measures which are needed to prevent this confrontation spreading into our regions. This would have a ruinous impact on Russia's economy and the life of the people. It would result in an intensification of disintegration processes in the state.

3. We reiterate our appeal which was delivered from this lofty rostrum on the first day of the present Congress. Esteemed president of the Russian Federation, esteemed chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, esteemed People's Deputies! There is still a chance to find a reasonable political solution, a solution in the interests of Russia and its citizens.

We believe that the only way in which the confrontation can be surmounted is for the constitution of the Russian Federation to be rigorously observed by everybody without exception. [applause]

The Congress resolution which we have just adopted is aimed at achieving precisely this, as well as securing the stabilization of political and economic affairs in Russia. [applause]

The Congress of People's Deputies, the president of the Russian Federation, and the Constitutional Court have a duty to act—and not just perfunctorily—as guarantors of the constitution of the Russian Federation. Thank you for your attention.

### Deputy Urazhtsev Appeals to Congress

*LD1203183693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Address by People's Deputy Vitaliy Urazhtsev to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues! This is my first time at the platform in all eight congresses of people's deputies. I am very grateful that this hour has finally come and that today we can speak frankly about the problems worrying us. They are worrying our country, our people, and of course they are worrying all of our power structures—the Army, the Security Ministry, and the Interior Ministry.

It is a secret to no one that the social, economic, and political strains that are unfortunately seething in this hall are affecting the power structures as well. Today, the Army is indeed seriously ill. It seems to me that we should not be afraid of it, since the illnesses linked with Tbilisi and Vilnius, with Baku and other regions of ethnic conflict, have made the Army more mature, more serious, and it seems to me that we should not fear it. At the same time, of course, the Army is under great strain in a whole range of ways. The fact that today the generals are grabbing their own dachas while the warrant officer, the junior officer, and the lieutenant colonel end up with nowhere to live is of course leading the Army toward disintegration. That must be kept in mind. It seems to me we should do everything so that the work being done by the deputies' group on Army reforms—and today there are 170 people's deputies in this deputies' group and we would be very pleased if more people's deputies joined our group, since today it includes communists, the Fatherland faction, and radical democrats—it is the first deputies' group working on professional problems. [sentence as heard]

I think we must of course help the Army. What have we managed to do? Well, first of all we have visited the difficult regions and met our military and their families. We have visited Latvia. Probably this is neither the time nor the place to paint a picture of the unpleasant things being experienced today by Russians outside the borders of our country, but I would like to say that we can help them in many ways. How can we help? With our attention. I must say that the great potential of the corps of deputies of the Russian Federation, of this hall, is unfortunately not being utilized in order to help, not just the Army, but all our Russians who are experiencing very serious strains linked with our problems in rebuilding society.

It seems to me that the wisest thing we can do today is not to rush things. Today we should not be working on the speedy holding of a referendum. Of course we need a referendum—if we are people's deputies, we should be striving to ensure that we know the will expressed by the people and work on that basis, but what should be done? We should be preparing for a referendum, but not at top speed. We should be preparing seriously. We should specify at the congress the questions on the agenda, the questions that we will be including on the ballots.

We need the public to calm down. An Army that is excited cannot realistically and honorably answer the questions that are put to it. Muscovites and people in other parts of Russia will also find it hard to answer.

Finally, I think that the most intelligent thing that we can do is make sure that the Congress, if not today then tomorrow when it ends, takes the 25 billion rubles earmarked for the referendum and redirects it to building homes for soldiers, pensioners, the disabled, and children. I think that this would be our greatest contribution to the cause of calm, unity, solidarity, and a resolution to the acute political problems that we are simply swamped with today.

Today, I am sure that the deputies are mature and united. Today, we have found common ground, and if we learn to listen to each other there will be no obstacle that we cannot overcome. Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] Incidentally, depending on how we decide tomorrow, there could be a congress resolution earmarking money for precisely those purposes, earmarking those 20 billion.

## Workers' Committees, Miners Demand Support for Yeltsin

*OW1203202093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1922 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of Workers' Committees (CWC) and the Coal Miners' Independent Trade Union (CMITU) are demanding that the 8th Congress of People's Deputies and Russia's Supreme Soviet "immediately pass the law on division power which will endow the president and the government with complete executive powers."

In their joint statement on Friday [12 March], the CWC and CMITU are proposing to set a new date for the national referendum in Russia (not later than June, 1993) to be based on the questions proposed to the Congress by President Boris Yeltsin.

The authors of the statement have pronounced the Congress reactionary, accusing it of trying to perpetrate what they termed "a creeping coup". Kuznetsk coal miners maintain that only strong presidential power is capable of "forestalling Russia's economic collapse."

If the demands laid by the coal miners are not fulfilled, the statement warns, they have "reserved for themselves the right to stage a general political strike."

In the meantime, according to the reports coming from Kemerovo Region, the CMITU leaders in Kuznetsk coal basin have instructed all the grass-root trade union structures and city workers' committees to immediately set up headquarters for staging the strike.

## Resolutions Passed at 12 Mar Congress Session

### On Constitutional Reform

*LD1203174293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1420 GMT 12 Mar 93*

["Official press release: Resolution of the Congress of the Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation. On measures for the implementation of constitutional reform in the Russian Federation (On the resolution of the Seventh Congress of Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation "On the stabilization of the constitutional structure of the Russian Federation")"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Confirming the necessity for stabilization of the Russian Federation constitutional structure and the importance of the efforts of the seventh Congress of Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation in this direction, deriving from the need to maintain civic peace and accord in society, state, and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, taking into account the complicated present socioeconomic and political situation in Russia and bearing in mind the initiatives of the president of the Russian Federation, the component parts of the Russian Federation, and of the Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation, the Congress of the Peoples' Deputies of the Russian Federation resolves:

1. To implement constitutional reform in the manner laid down by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. To consider invalid those agreements and other procedural documents by state bodies or official persons intended to redistribute power between the federal bodies of state power and organs of power of subjects of the Russian Federation which are not in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Federal Treaty.

2. To acknowledge that the decisions of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation "On stabilization of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation" and "On interpretation of various clauses of the decision of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation "On stabilization of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation" are no longer in force.

3. The president of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and the Constitutional Commission are to agree among themselves within three months and send for agreement to the component parts of the Russian Federation the draft basic provisions of a new Constitution of the Russian Federation. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is to work out the order of the agreement of draft legislative acts with the component parts of the Russian Federation.

The content of the Federative Treaty will be subject to inclusion in the draft of the new Constitution of the Russian Federation.

4. To concentrate within the remit of the Council of Ministers—the government—of the Russian Federation the day-to-day management by the state of federal state property and federal economic agencies, and the drafting, coordination, and implementation of anticrisis programs regarding the economic and social development of the Russian Federation.

The chairmen of the Russian Central Bank, Russian Federal Property Fund, Pension Fund, and the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics may be ex officio members of the Council of Ministers—the government—of the Russian Federation while retaining their answerability to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

To establish that rulings of the president of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation that require finance from the state budget of the Russian Federation and federal extra-budget funds shall be made with account taken of the findings of the Government of the Russian Federation.

5. To consider that the priority task in strengthening Russia's statehood is a consistent renewal of federal relations and implementation of the Federation Treaty.

6. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation shall:

draw up and endorse a procedure for accounting for proposals from members of the Russian Federation on the draft for a new Constitution of the Russian Federation, and also a means in law of implementing the provisions of the Federation Treaty. To prepare the appropriate draft legislation, it [the Supreme Soviet] shall form a commission comprising People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and authorized representatives of federal executive bodies, of representative and executive bodies of republics within the Russian Federation, of krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and towns of federal significance;

jointly with the Council of Ministers—the government—of the Russian Federation draw up a means of coordinating finance and credit policy and management of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation;

draw up and adopt federal legislative acts on election of the president of the Russian Federation, on election of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, on political parties, on state television and radio broadcasting, and on nationwide ballots (referendums) and debate of the most important issues in the life of the state.

7. To bring into force in full Articles 109, 110, and 121-6 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation on adoption of this Resolution.

8. To bring into force this Resolution on adoption.

[Signed] R. I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation; Moscow, the Kremlin [Dated] 12 March 1993

## Filatov Comments

*LD1303195293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, head of the administration of the Russian president, told a correspondent that a detailed analysis of the main resolution of the congress on measures to implement constitutional reform in the Russian Federation contains, in six or seven places, violations of the Constitution. Because of this, the president's representatives are drawing up a petition to the Constitutional Court requesting that the validity of this decision of the congress be verified.

Sergey Filatov also said that Boris Yeltsin firmly intends to hold a nationwide plebiscite. He said that among the questions to be put to the plebiscite will be the question of the fate of the Congress of People's Deputies.

[Filatov] The only thing that alarms me is that, certainly, if there was no agreement before the Congress—well, no political agreement, let us say—and very many sociopolitical associations—both among the people's deputies and among the authorities—there was no agreement and there was pretty strong confrontation, then in general, I cannot see this Congress introducing any elements that could ease that confrontation. Regrettably, the confrontation will get worse, and I have felt it very painfully now that the Congress of People's Deputies has tossed off this latest appeal to the people, it seems. But it is written in a tone that is insulting to the president, really. That is no way to do things, of course—especially as this is the supreme body, or calls itself the supreme body. Today, it has proclaimed itself above the people, insofar as it has deprived the people of a referendum, and that is very distressing.

## On Observance of Constitution

*LD1203142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1333 GMT 12 Mar 93*

["Official: Resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on the Observance of the Constitution Basic Law of the Russian Federation by the Supreme Organs of State Power and by Officials"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation resolves:

1. To take cognizance of the message from the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on the state of constitutional legality in the Russian Federation.

2. To instruct the president of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and the Government of the Russian Federation, the legislative and executive organs of power of the republics within the Russian Federation, the organs of state power and

administration of the autonomous oblast, of autonomous districts, krays, oblasts, and of the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg to bring the laws and other normative enactments that they have adopted into line with the Constitution of the Russian Federation within a period of three minths.

3. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is to adopt, within a period of three months, a law on the mechanism for the implementation of the decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and on liability for the nonfulfillment of these decisions.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation; Kremlin, Moscow
[Dated] 11 March 1993

### Rumyantsev Views Resolution

*LD1203202593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The resolution "On observance of the Constitution of the Russian Federation by top-level officials and organs of power" which was passed yesterday [as received] by the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies is a most important decision by the Congress, since it provides serious possibilities of overcoming the constitutional crisis. This was stated at a news conference in the Congress interval today by Oleg Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission.

Rumyantsev recalled that the resolution makes it obligatory for all the organs of power to obey the current Constitution and bring all legislative acts and decrees which they issue into line with it. He thinks the main cause of the constitutional crisis is the "provocative violation of the Constitution by parliament, by the Congress, by the president, and by the regions of the Russian Federation."

Unless all acts are now brought into line with the Constitution, the Constitutional Court will be forced, in just three months' time, to declare them illegal; and thus there will be excellent grounds for an early election. The next Congress could ratify the election law and set a date for the election—possibly not later than November-December of this year.

Rumyantsev thinks it was wrong to rescind the entire resolution of the Seventh Congress "On stabilization of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation." He said he had submitted an amendment to the editorial commission, proposing that point one of the resolution simply be suspended until the next Congress, with the other points remaining in force. He feels that "either to do away with the possibility of a referendum altogether, or to decide to hold it at all costs, would be to go to extremes." In particular, the referendum could be necessary in order to raise the question of an early election.

### Deputy Premier Cited on Congress Proceedings

*LD1203224993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0330 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by correspondent Georgiy Leskis]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Speaking at a news conference, Russian Deputy Premier Fedorov said in answer to a question about what the government will do if the Congress breaks out of the constitutional framework once and for all:

[Begin Fedorov recording] Of course it is extremely hard to predict at present, but it is quite clear that the president and the government will struggle until the last moment for compromise, to achieve agreement, to solve all these matters by constitutional methods. Despite all the political attacks and even insults that have been heard, we intend to stick to an even and civilized dialogue and try to get results. To predict what the result will be is of course difficult as yet. [end recording]

For the most part, the deputy premier spoke about economic issues. He stressed that the departure from the government of such reformers as Chubays, Shumeyko, and Shokhin would be a disaster. Commenting on the speech at the Congress by Central Bank Chairman Gerashchenko, Boris Fedorov dismissed most of his accusations that the government is to blame for inflation. In any country, Fedorov said, the central bank is just that—a bank, guarding the national currency, and not a cashier from whom the parliament takes as much as it needs; yet the good-hearted Gerashchenko does give it as much as it needs, by printing money.

Tomorrow, Premier [as heard] Boris Fedorov flies to Hong Kong for a meeting of the G-7 finance ministers, to which he has been invited by Japan. Speaking about his upcoming visit, Fedorov said he will try to explain to our Western partners that the time has come to stop talking about aid and at last start providing it. At the same time, he said: We do not intend to build our reform program solely on Western aid.

### Yeltsin Supporters Picket Congress Deputies

*LD1203191493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By A. Yusupov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Supporters of Democratic Russia gathered near Mossoviet today to organize picketing of deputies on Vasilyevskiy Slope [route by which Congress deputies return to hotel]. The pickets were unanimously in an anti-Congress mood. Yeltsin's supporters explained their activity today by the need to repulse the communists who have been holding daily pickets near Spasskiy Tower. At the same time the demonstrators managed to follow the events at the Congress using pocket radios and circulated newspapers and posters. By 1800 the rally formed up into an organized column and moved toward the Kremlin. [Video shows pickets holding posters: "Boris, hold on! Russia with you!" and "Our proud Boris will not give in to the enemy!"]

### Demonstrations Reported Near Kremlin; More Planned

*LD1203203993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by Correspondent Vladimir Luskanov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first and most visible result of today's work of the Congress were two crowds of people divided by mutual hatred and lack of understanding. The dispute between the legislative and executive authorities has spilled outside the walls of the Kremlin and filled a square.

No fewer than 5,000 people gathered on Vasilevskiy Slope for a spontaneous rally. There were supporters of the National Salvation Front and Working Russia and there were also democrats. Between them there were reinforced police lines and metal crowd barriers. One group chanted:

[Begin recording of crowd chanting, led by a female voice] Yeltsin! Yeltsin! [end recording]

Other's demanded the president's dismissal. The National Salvation Front proclaimed the Congress deputies national heroes; the democrats proclaimed them traitors to people's interests. The people's chosen ones themselves, leaving the Kremlin Palace, preferred to remain neutral. They gave no interviews and did not even come close to the howling crowd.

The balance of forces in the street was more or less balanced. Equal numbers of right-wingers and left-wingers had gathered, and no one group could out-shout the other. It looks like this is just the first test of strength. The supporters of Working Russia are already gathering their sympathisers for tomorrow in the center of Moscow in order to give decisive battle, as they put it. There is no doubt that the democrats too will call the people on to the streets. Is this really the civil peace of which so much is being said at the Congress? [Video shows correspondent speaking to camera; people with placards marching under the Russian flag; crowd of people with Soviet flags and Working Russia banners; policemen; shouting demonstrators; Russian Communist Labor Party banner from Moscow's Proletarskiy Rayon; people with picture of Yeltsin; people with anti-Yeltsin placards.]

### Reformists Urge Citizens To Rally, Prevent Dictatorship

*OW1203200393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1922 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [12 March] the coalition of reform-minded deputies issued an appeal to Russia's citizens to "rally" and "prevent a soviet-communist dictatorship." The document which was distributed at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow says that "a clearly reactionary coup" has started in Russia. The authors of the appeal call on the president to "prevent chaos and save the country from a civil war."

The coalition feels that the decisions adopted by the Eighth Congress "destroy the Russian state, weaken the authorities, and may cause incalculable damage to Russia.... The Congress is pushing Russia into hunger, economic dislocation, and civil war."

## Reaction to, Commentary on Congress Proceedings

### Ryabov, Khasbulatov Fuel 'Confrontation'

*PM1203161093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Commentary by Dmitriy Lvov: "Masks Off at the Congress: Who Brought the Dynamite Into the Kremlin?]

[Text] Who knew the modest parliamentarian Nikolay Ryabov before? He did not dazzle by outstanding speeches in parliament, but he was able to say what the leadership needed at the right time. That was the assessment of the speaker, who recently made him his deputy. But dues have to be paid, and at the Eighth Congress Ryabov made a political debut which wrecked the newly established fragile agreement between the branches of power and the atmosphere of the forum by a powerfully explosive confrontational speech. Not mincing his words, he launched into a crude attack on Yeltsin, describing him as merely the "top civil servant, subordinate to the Congress." Can a president elected by all the people be described as a civil servant? Tens of millions of Russians voted for Yeltsin, but who can remember today that he voted for Ryabov? Whom today does he represent, this civil servant from the body of deputies? Moreover, as it turns out, Ryabov did not speak from the Congress rostrum on behalf of the Supreme Soviet or even the Presidium. He, apparently, "imparted his own standpoint to the deputies." Small wonder that Deputy Valeriy Babkin, rendered indignant by this, should describe it as "usurpation of the powers of a representative of the legislature."

Yes, Nikolay Ryabov had the opportunity "to impart his standpoint," while Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, having twice on that same day sent notes requesting to speak, was simply unsuccesful. Incidentally, the whole list of speakers underwent careful sifting. It is far from accidental that democrats were absent from it while representatives of the most conservative pro-communist wing of Congress predominated.

So, according to whose scenario is the forum proceeding? Who will believe that Ryabov made his aggressive antipresidential statements on his own behalf, that all this was not discussed in the parliamentary leadership, and that it was not a prearranged "in-house job"?

Of what, then, does Ryabov accuse the president? First... of making use of extra powers, but who gave them to the president? Surely it was the Fifth Congress of People's Deputies which granted them to Boris Yeltsin during the difficult fall of 1991, was it not? Surely Ryabov himself voted for this, did he not? Ryabov described the Seventh Congress decree on stabilizing the constitutional system as "mistaken," but surely the deputies themselves passed that document by majority vote, did they not?

The deputy speaker also has his own view of the sources of the conflict between representative and executive power. In his opinion, the roots of the conflict lie in the president's formation of unconstitutional institutions of power which are not accountable to parliament, such as the President's Administration, the Security Council, and analytical centers, but surely parliament creates similar institutions to back up its own activity? Surely the Supreme Soviet possesses a powerful apparatus? Are not such influential structures as the Central Bank, the Federal Property Fund, and the Pension Fund subordinate to it? Does the Supreme Soviet not have analytical centers of its own? Why, then, can the president not create structures ensuring the effective operation of executive power?

It is logical, isn't it? But Ryabov's speech was not built on logic and arguments. Its constituent was the dynamite of confrontation. The objective here was different—to wreck the situation. As First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko said, Ryabov spoke with the calculation in mind that the president would take drastic steps after hearing him. That was the calculation of the devisers of this scenario.

Vladimir Shumeyko cited the following example in confirmation of this observation. The deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who is himself a lawyer, says that the Security Council is an unconstitutional body, although a whole chapter in the Constitution is devoted to it. When the Supreme Soviet adopted the relevant law and at one of its sessions appointed Yuriy Skokov secretary of the Security Council. Now, suddenly, from the Congress rostrum, the Supreme Soviet deputy chairman declares the Security Council to be an illegitimate organ created by the president.

Of course, one could reassure oneself by arguing that the aforementioned pearls of wisdom and standpoints are merely the personal opinion of Deputy Nikolay Ryabov, but the next day the speaker himself unexpectedly took the floor, and after the ritual incantations about how peace and agreement are needed, he simply dashed the last hopes of achieving them.

Khasbulatov described the proposals made by the presidential side, which tirelessly endeavors to find compromise, as "ephemeral fancy ideas." It turned out that there could be no question of retaining the Seventh Congress decree, but why, then, one asks, was it passed? "We all gave into temptation," was the speaker's blithe explanation. He expressed disappointment at the speeches by the president and the head of government, but what was he actually expecting? That the president lose control and take a drastic step? That the head of government acknowledge that he is not actually the head but that there are another two heads—Shumeyko and Chubays? Why did Khasbulatov need to describe the government as a hydra and call for one head to be cut off for the time being—dispatching Chubays, his pet peeve, into retirement post-haste?

The speaker also proposed that the foreign minister be removed from his post, as "there is no foreign or domestic policy" in our country, and he concluded by threatening that parliament would never ratify the budget and would punish the neglectful government by passing a decision to withhold its wages. As a backdrop to this drastic criticism of the executive Khasbulatov painted a completely unalloyed idyllic picture of a parliament working day and night which has, it transpires, actually passed 40 laws and 60 decrees. Parliamentarians are sweating blood, they never have time to concern themselves with intrigue, while the members of the presidential team are concerned with nothing but. What counts, after all, is not how many laws or decrees you pass, but how they work, and if they are not working, that means the executive is to blame.

Such is the very convenient stance adopted by the speaker, who is trying to conduct himself like the "master of the Russian Lands." His speech has exacerbated still further the confrontation between the two branches of power. The scope for dialogue between the president and the Congress is narrowing still further, but that is also destructive for the Congress itself. By choosing such a scenario it is rendering itself obsolete.

### Party Officials Interviewed

*LD1203185693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] The journalists' army attacked participants in the Congress today, trying to get the fullest possible picture of opinions and moods. Our correspondent interviewed Mikhail Astafyev, chairman of the Kadets Party, and Lev Ponomarev, co-chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Russia Movement.

[Begin recording] [Astafyev] As chairman of the Constitutional Democrats Party, I am pleased that the implementation of a Constitution without any exceptions and restrictions will be the main result of the Congress.

[Correspondent M.Tumanova] Does it mean that you and other people who hold the same views feel that you are the masters of the situation at the Congress?

[Astafyev] Masters is not the right word, perhaps. We do not feel we are the masters, but it is clear at least that opposition to the executive power has good support at the Congress.

[Tumanova] Did you have any hopes for this Congress of People's Deputies?

[Ponomarev] Not really. From my viewpoint the Congress is usurping power in the country.

[Tumanova] You and your colleagues, do you not feel like odd men out at this Congress?

[Ponomarev] In the audience, yes of course we feel this way. We are in the minority. All voting procedures show that there are about 200 of us. We are whooped at behind our back, and they whisper to us: when our power comes we will hang you—literally these words.

[Tumanova] You said in the audience; what about outside the walls of the Congress?

[Ponomarev] Outside? Well, I am sure—and indeed all opinion polls have demonstrated up until now, until the last moment—that the population gives more support to the president in his confrontation than to the Congress. [end recording]

### Muscovites Polled

*OW1203213893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1921 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Independent Institute of Parliamentarian Sociology under Nugzar Betaneliy told INTERFAX that a poll of one thousand Muscovites revealed that most of them think that the confrontation of the Congress of People's Deputies with the president "holds no promise for the legislative branch while Yeltsin can rely on the backing of the electorate." They support the office rather than the personality, the sociologists emphasize.

The president's rating has, they point out, increased from 30 percent on February 18 to 36 percent on March 11. The report indicates that the percentage of Muscovites who "take a positive view of or interest in" his activity has also increased. On the other hand, the percentage of those who viewed the president's activities "with apprehension or negatively" decreased from 44 percent on February 18 to 42 percent on March 11.

The evaluations of R. Khasbulatov, Supreme Soviet Chairman, are distributed as follows: 12 percent, positive; 64 percent, negative; 13 percent, indifferent; and 11 percent, undecided. For the first time in his term of office, the analysts stress, the number of "active opponents" of Khasbulatov reached the seven percent mark.

Whatever their personal preferences, most people polled would prefer a strong presidential authority and their own economic independence, the sociologists conclude from the responses to the questions Yeltsin wants to be answered in the referendum.

In particular, 47 percent of the sample supported, 13 percent opposed, and 40 percent were undecided on the Russian Federation becoming a presidential republic.

Adoption of a new Constitution by a Constitutional Assembly was supported by 54 percent, opposed by 11 percent, and 35 percent had no opinion on this subject.

### Proceedings Viewed

*PM1203171593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[R. Zaripov report: "President Plays Away From Home. Report From the Kremlin"]

[Text] Yesterday the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies began with the Russian president's speech from the rostrum. "Do deputies understand?"—this phrase became the leitmotiv of Yeltsin's speech. He firmly stressed that it is the president, not the Congress or the Supreme Soviet, who ensures the integrity and unity of the state, since he is elected by the whole people, and not just a part of it. The historical reference to Gorbachev—"If he had been elected by everyone, and not just 2,000 deputies, he would have preserved the Soviet Union"—provoked a stormy reaction in the hall. Do deputies understand that: 1) they are incapable of carrying out reforms through tough measures; 2) the destruction of the president's power is the destruction of the constitutional order and an encroachment on the will of the electorate? In the event that an accord is not reached, a third force will appear which will destroy Russia. Therefore the main task to is to keep the decree of the Seventh Congress as intact as possible. If the Congress refuses to accept the president's outstretched hand, a referendum is inevitable. If not on 11 April, then later—the Congress will fix the date.

The president's speech was followed by the now customary commentary by his press secretary, Vyacheslav Kostikov. Observing that Yeltsin is working on foreign territory ("the Congress is more like enemy territory"), Kostikov considers the Russian president's speech a strong trump card which should influence deputies. As for the Constitution, in the press secretary's words, the 320 amendments that have been made to it have turned it into "Khasbulatov goulash." Yelstin pledged allegiance to another Constitution, and he still has powerful moves in his arsenal. Unexpectedly for journalists, Vyacheslav Kostikov drew the press's attention to a morning episode in the hall of sessions. "As he entered the hall the president first of all went up to Grachev, Barannikov, and Yerin (the ministers of defense, state security, and internal affairs respectively—R.Z.) and greeted them," Kostikov remarked, without commenting on this fact.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's emotional, ad hominem speech provoked a stormy reaction not only in the hall but also in the lobbies of the Congress. The speaker's speech picked up speed, like someone coming downhill, not breaking even on sharp bends. There can be no question of preserving the Seventh Congress decree. "Don't you think I have enough on my plate?" the chairman asked, and straightaway answered: "We in the Supreme Soviet are working our darnedest, provoking the amazement of legislators of other countries." Remarks addressed to the government were far from eulogistic. It turns out that "in addition to the known prime minister, we have another two: Shumeyko and Chubays, and no one knows which of the three is the chief." The speaker proposed that Chubays be dismissed then and there at the Congress, and after him Kozyrev. In conclusion the speaker passed sentence on Chernomyrdin: "We will not confirm this budget and we will adopt a decision not to allocate pay to your officials."

The speaker's speech was not lost on the Congress. It rejected draft decrees proposed by subjects of the Federation and by the president and adopted the drafting commission's draft as a working basis. Overnight it had undergone certain changes. The line on the inappropriateness of holding a referendum had disappeared (evidently, once again the Congress had not made up its mind to assume responsibility), as had also the paragraph on granting the president the status of head of state and clarifying the powers of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. The document specifies the term to be alloted to coordination between the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Court of the draft basic provisions of the new Constitution—three months.

Two hours passed, and deputies adopted a new draft decree as a working basis. A small concession was made to Yeltsin. In the event of the adoption of the document: 1) decisions on allocating funds from the state budget would be adopted taking account of government criticisms; 2) the chairmen of the Central Bank of Russia, the Federal Property Fund, the Pension Fund, and the State Committee for Statistics can join the Council of Ministers. Yeltsin's demand that the decree of the Seventh Congress be retained was rejected. Now, in the president's words, the situation is returning to its starting point—Yeltsin's December appeal to the people.

The debate over observance of the Constitution by the top organs of state power and officials became a mudslinging match. The calls of the chairman of the Constitutional Court—to live in peace and harmony and fulfill the Constitution—were interrupted by applause. Deputies took cognizance of the court's appeal.

### Yeltsin 'Acting Like a Wimp'

*MK1203150693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 10*

[Marina Zasurskaya report: "Borovoy Does Not Approve of President's Actions"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Radisson-Slavyanskaya hotel, as part of the events organized by the International Press Center and Press Club, a press conference was held by Konstantin Borovoy, chairman of the Economic Freedom Party. In his opinion, the course of developments at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies shows that the situation in the country has taken on a basically new complexion and become unpredictable.

According to the Economic Freedom Party leader, up to now the most conspicuous event of the recent period in Russia has been price liberalization. By itself, however, this liberalization by no means indicated that Russia has embarked on an irreversible path leading to a market economy.

Konstantin Borovoy is increasingly doubtful that further steps are possible and thinks that the deepening conflict between the two branches of state power is in fact a conflict between two concepts for the development of society. Borovoy unequivocally described the president's speech at the Congress yesterday as a retreat: "It was too conciliatory. I was particularly alarmed by the phrase that the president considers it possible to hold the referendum whenever the Congress may decide."

In Borovoy's opinion, yesterday showed that the president's opponents have abandoned compromise and that the radicalization of their actions no longer has any bounds. "What we have to deal with now is no longer a congress. In terms of its confrontational stance with respect to other branches of power and its intransigence, the congress is reminiscent of a Chechen extortion racket."

According to Borovoy, Yeltsin "is acting like a wimp [baba]—not like a popularly elected president." He said that Economic Freedom Party experts are considering a few scenarios of political developments, including the situation whereby Ruslan Khasbulatov temporarily comes to power as a Russian president. Konstantin Borovoy did not offer his own forecast for the development of events or the possible behavior of the Economic Freedom Party in the emerging situation.

## Proceedings Reported From 13 Mar Congress Session

### Yeltsin Suggests 25 Apr Referendum

*LD1303084293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent a draft resolution to the 8th Congress of People's Deputies, suggesting that an all-Russian referendum be scheduled for April 25.

The text of the draft resolution was read out by Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov at the morning session on Saturday [13 March].

The president's message suggests that the Congress accept the president's proposal and fix the holding of an all-Russia referendum on the principles of the constitutional reform for April 25, that the Central Electoral Commission include the president-suggested questions in the voting papers, and that the Supreme Soviet (parliament) and the government take measures to ensure the all- Russia referendum organisationally and financially.

In addition, Khasbulatov said, the president sent in a draft resolution on the interpretation of the Constitution's Article 104, Part Two, stipulating that the Congress "has the right to accept for consideration and decide on any issue which is under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation".

The president's message is to be discussed on Saturday.

### Proposal Voted Down

*LD1303110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Participants in the extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia on Saturday [13 March] voted down the president's proposal to hold an all-Russia referendum on April 25.

During a non-binding vote, the presidential draft resolution of the congress about a referendum was supported only by 286 deputies, 422 opposed it, and 121 abstained.

The largest number of votes was polled by a draft resolution tabled by more than 200 deputies and envisaging the cancellation of the April 11 referendum and fixing no new date for it (580 voted for it and 221 against, with 52 abstensions). This draft resolution was adopted as the basis for further work on a final draft resolution of the congress.

### Ryabov Addresses Congress Session 13 Mar

*LD1303101793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0704 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, chairman of the drafting commission, to the Eighth Russian Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed Presidium, in accordance with what the Congress has decided, two issues were included on the Congress agenda: the all-Russian referendum and the issue of preparing changes and amendments to the Constitution of the Russian Federation and to the law on the elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation. As a result of yesterday's meeting of the drafting commission, three documents appeared concerning the first issue: The first is the resolution on an all- Russia referendum presented by the group of people's deputies of Dorkin, Muravyev, Sumin, and so on. The second is the draft resolution proposed by the drafting commission, and the third is the draft proposed by the Democratic Russia faction. The drafting commission decided that since the three draft resolutions reflect three conceptually different approaches to the referendum issue, they could all be put to a vote as alternatives, to test the water, and subsequently we would make our views known concerning specific draft laws, draft resolutions, I beg your pardon, and we would either take one of them as the basis, or else we would endorse all of it. Before we vote, however, I would like to dwell on what these draft resolutions contain.

The draft resolution introduced by the group of people's deputies of Dorkin, Muravyev, and so on, reflects the whole process of debate by the Congress on the referendum issue, and corresponds to the resolution adopted by us yesterday. Inter alia, it says that unequivocably the subjects of the Russian Federation, through their authorized representatives, the heads of administrations and the leaders of the republics, and the leaders of the representative bodies, have declared from this podium the inexpediency of and the danger of conducting a referendum in the current conditions. Second, this draft resolution says that the legislative base is imperfect, which, as a statement, is absolutely correct. It is premature today to raise the issue of a referendum, or to adopt a decision whereby we hold a referendum on 11 April or in May or even in June, if only because today it is necessary to review—and this is underlined—the entire legislative base concerning the issue of holding an all-national vote. This arises out of the provisions of the Federation Treaty. It is not for nothing that yesterday, in point three of yesterday's decision, we recorded an instruction to the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Commission to agree among themselves and subsequently to submit to a vote the issues relating to the basic provisions of the draft constitution as they apply to the subjects of the Federation. This is because it is at present unclear and nor is there a legal mechanism for reaching consensus here. Such mechanism is yet to be elaborated and adopted, with the participation of the subjects of the Federation. It is only after that and on the basis of this legal mechanism that the text of the basic provisions can be elaborated with the subjects of the Federation and agreed upon with their participation. Take the issues which, in one form or another, have now been put to the Congress. Take the president's issues, or the issues from deputies, or the issues submitted by various deputies' factions, etc.

All of them to a certain degree concern the interests of the subjects of the Federation. The Congress does not have the right not to adopt the issue of this kind. For example, the land issue. Tell me please, could one approve the land issue as a question for the referendum if at the same time it has not been agreed how this issue is going to be resolved if, for example, at least one republic, if not several, or an oblast, or a kray would say no to this question. How will this rule operate then? Or the issue of the form of power in the Russian Federation. Can it be decided without an agreement with the subjects of the Federation but just simply by voting for it as one of the questions put forward for the referendum? This is a precipitate move which will give us nothing positive but will lead only to the breakdown of the Russian Federation. That is why among the members of the drafting commission this draft decision received almost the same number of votes—one vote less—than the second draft presented to us by the drafting commission.

The drafting commission proposes, in the second draft, that the Supreme Soviet should, within a two-month period, jointly with the president and subjects of the Federation, resolve the issue of holding the referendum on the basic points. This does not mean that the texts will be finalized. This does not mean that the referendum will be held in two months' time. This means that the two months' time has been determined here in order for these three subjects to find out the entire depth of the problem, to form the plan for resolving the issue, to implement this plan as much as possible, and achieve an agreed solution. At the same time, point two emphasizes from the very start that the decision on holding the Russia-wide referendum cannot be taken if more than half of the subjects of the Russian Federation do not agree to holding a Russia-wide referendum. In this connection I would like to draw your attention yet again to what was said during the first day of the Congress work. At the federal level—I would like to stress at the federal level—in the countries of developed democracy in the West, in the United States of America, in the Federal Republic of Germany, referendums have never been held and are not held.

Mr. Shelov, so called Kovedyayev, or whatever his name is, I cannot remember, excuse me, of course ...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Nikolay Timofeyevich, I would like to ask you to be more ...

[Ryabov] I forgot the last name, Ruslan Imranovich.

[Khasbulatov] Please, you should apologize.

[Ryabov] I apologize. But this gentleman deputy tried to make out that the holding of local, regional referendums in the German laender or the United States means it is possible to hold referendums at a federal level, or indeed that they are held. They do not have that there today, so we cannot take the risk of the parties to the Federation saying no, and so we are writing in point 2 that the decision on holding a referendum cannot be adopted if more than half of these entities disagree with the holding of it. Even this figure is dubious. Perhaps one could ask why half? Perhaps a third. Perhaps even less.

Finally, the third draft, the Democratic Russia draft. They propose that—because it is now not possible in terms of time to hold the referendum on 11 April—the president should be given the right, in connection with his proposal and with the fact he has declared he accepts responsibility for the holding of the referendum, to independently determine the list of questions for the referendum and to present them to the Supreme Soviet. In other words, the Supreme Soviet, without discussing the text of the questions presented by the president, should endorse them. The Supreme Soviet is asked to hold a referendum on the president's questions, but not before 22 April.

What are the weaknesses of this draft? They lie in the factors, the arguments, that we have been talking about, guided purely by interests of the political struggle, one might say okay, since the president insists, let him have his referendum, let him find out for himself that he does not have the people's support, that the parties to the Federation do not support him, and thus, so the argument runs, we will make the president understand that he is profoundly mistaken.

This kind of approach, however, towards a question concerning an extraordinarily important political action of the Russian state at a watershed stage of its development, at a time when the very Russian statehood is in jeopardy—I repeat, in a situation in which we do not at all have a proper legislative basis for settling this question with the subjects of the Federation—it is fraught with consequences that are very dangerous, it is fraught with consequences of a split in society and that is why I call on people's deputies to bear this in mind when the voting to test the water takes place.

Finally esteemed people's deputies, esteemed Ruslan Imranovich, I literally want just one more minute. In point number three of the decision adopted by us yesterday we recorded what we see as a rather clever thing: after all, we are not rejecting a referendum on the basic provisions. What we are now proposing is that the first step is taken; that laws are elaborated, this is recorded in point number six—elections laws, referenda laws. Further, in point three we propose that these issues be formulated, that they are agreed with the subjects of the Federation and only after that will it be possible, at the next Congress of People's Deputies, to put the question: Is the country ready, are the central authorities ready, are the subjects of the Federation ready, for the holding of a referendum? That is to say, an algorhythmn for action is already inherent in the decision. If, however, we now stop at the second draft, which provides for an opportunity of holding a referendum, it is written down and it is linked with point number three, then we will, all the same, keep the country in suspense. People will think that the referendum has not been cancelled. The media will whip up an atmosphere that is altogether unnecessary at present. So I call on you, call on you insistently, asking that you and I decide on the draft resolution presented by the group of people's deputies of Dorkin, Muravyev, and Sumin, which reflects the results of the work of our Congress and the spirit and the mood of the subjects of the Russian Federation. Thank you for your attention.

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Esteemed people's deputies, I wish to inform you that two draft decisions have now been received together with a letter to the Congress of People's Deputies with the signature of the president, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, as it happens about the formulation of these questions, and, yes, he is asking for the referendum to be postponed until 25 April. Well, I will read it to inform you, then of course we will have to distribute it. The first proposal is to accept the president's proposal, I mean the draft decision, to hold the all-Russia referendum on the basic issues of constitutional reform on 25 April. The second is for the central referendum commission to include the questions proposed by the president in the questions for voting. And third, for the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the government to adopt measures to provide for the financing and organization of the all-Russia referendum. Of course, as you know, this is probably not quite correct to just read it out. I have informed you and now we will ask for it to be distributed. The second draft decision: Interpretation, in connection with the examination by the Eighth Congress, of the issue of including addenda and amendments in the Constitution in accordance with Article 110 and point 1 of Article 125. I introduce to the Congress for examination the draft decision on interpretation of part 2 of Article 104 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. These documents have just arrived, so we will ask the Secretariat to reproduce them quickly.

Esteemed deputies, I think you will agree that owing to the fact that you do not have your own copies of these documents, the examination of this question ought to be postponed for a while. We can go straight over to the second question—the drafting commission has already prepared the second question. Do you agree? [deputies heard shouting yes] This will be correct. Vladimir Petrovich (?Varfolomeyev), could you please reproduce these documents. People's deputies, please do not come up here on the presidium. Deputy Nesterov, could you take your seat in the hall? Over to you Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov. Are you ready for the second question?

[Ryabov] Yes, yes.

[Khasbulatov] Over to you then.

[Ryabov] It is not possible to limit ourselves to a single additional point for Article 104 of the Constitution. In order for there to be a positive resolution of this, it is necessary to thoroughly examine and change an entire whole section of the Russian Federation Constitution connected with the electoral system, connected with the institution of the presidency, and connected with the section on the supreme bodies of representative power and with the Law on the Status of Deputies, the Law on the President, and a number of other acts with the force of law. This is an extremely large question, and quite a complicated one, too large to be debated and decided at this congress as a law on amendments and additions to the Russian Federation's Constitution. Taking account also of the fact that the decision adopted by us for the Supreme Soviet yesterday, point seven—I beg your pardon, point six—has an instruction to the Supreme Soviet to elaborate and adopt legislative acts concerning the elections of the president of the Russian Federation and the elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation, and also taking account of the protocol instruction to the Supreme Soviet by the Seventh Congress concerning the preparation of a law on introducing changes and amendments to the existing Constitution and the presentation of this law for the next Congress of People's Deputies, the drafting commission came to the conclusion that it is possible to submit for your attention a draft which is intended as an instruction for the Supreme Soviet and which is fully in keeping both with our decision yesterday and with the protocol instruction of the previous Congress. That is all I have to say, Ruslan Imranovich.

## Further on Ryabov Speech

*LD1303090593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies on 13 March from the Grand Kremlin Palace—live]

[[Excerpts] Let us consider the first question: We have received yet another draft decision from the president. Its essence is that the referendum on the main issues of constitutional reform ought to be scheduled for 25 April 1993. That means that, in the first place, the very thrust is changing: It is not concerned with the main issues of the draft of a new Constitution, but with the main issues of constitutional reform. It is an altogether new approach. Everything else remains within the general mainstream of the proposals from Democratic Russia which, likewise, proposes that the referendum be held no earlier than 22 April. I would like to draw the attention of the esteemed people's deputies to the fact that we can receive ten, twenty, or fifty so-called alternative drafts, the proposals within which will be to everyone's liking. They will, however, all the same, proceed in these three directions: to hold the referendum on a specific date, not to hold the referendum because it is inexpedient at the present time, and the third direction would be to tie up the holding of the referendum—it would be left in among the decisions, but would, nevertheless, be tied up with the preparations for the Federation's subjects to agree upon it. Believe me, other options are impossible here.

That is why I ask you, esteemed people's deputies, to specially make your views known, first and foremost concerning the question of whether we will debate the referendum issue as one that relates to the basic provisions of the draft of a new Constitution, or will we debate the referendum issue as one that relates to the basic provisions of constitutional reform. Let me repeat that, in a sense, these are different issues, because the constitutional reform is a substantially broader issue, including, as it does, also the questions of the existing constitutional legislation. Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov], I would put it to the vote. We have throughout been dealing with the referendum issue as one that relates to the questions, or, to be more correct, the basic provisions of the draft of a new Russian Constitution. It was perfectly clear. It was seen in a certain way, is that not the case? Yesterday, on 12 March, the president sent his proposals concerning the basic provisions of the draft of a new Constitution. Today we have them. It is as though it was all the same to them, but, if this is the case, then write it down—that it is one and the same thing, and let us remove this question, that it is a proposal concerning the basic provisions of constitutional reform. It is impermissible, however, to engage in such word games. That is why I ask that the Congress makes its views known in a precise manner: What issue are we going to be dealing with? This, Ruslan Imranovich, is the first thing that should be voted on. Thank you. [passage omitted]

The second question, included in the Congress agenda yesterday, was tied up with the issue of early elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation and the president of the Russian Federation. In the course of the examination of this question by the drafting commission and account having been taken of the discussion of this question here at the Congress, the drafting commission has come to the conclusion that to adopt a decision on early elections at this Congress is impossible. This requires the introduction of substantial changes to the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation. [passage omitted]

### Congress To Have Parliament Examine Constitutional Change

*LD1303084093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0835 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia on Saturday [13 March] decided against introducing a provision, allowing the holding of an early election of a corps of deputies and a president, to the Constitution, on which a certain proportion of participants in the forum insisted.

In a decision passed today, the Congress instructed the Supreme Soviet (parliament) to consider the question of advisability of such a change of the country's fundamental law.

### Khasbulatov Addresses Several Issues to 13 Mar Session

#### Seeks Support for Media Resolution

*LD1303144393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1049 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Statement by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Hall in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues! First, I would like to ask you if you could support—of course, it is the will of the Congress—first, the draft resolution on state television and radio broadcasting. For your information, you will recall that there was an instruction of the Congress to the Supreme Soviet. The issue is at the discussion stage as it is supposed to be. The Supreme Soviet—I repeat this for your information—set up a relevant commission. Therefore I am not sure whether it would be best for us to immediately decide on a very complicated issue though the draft is not bad or can we put down in the protocol once again that the Congress draws the attention of the Supreme Soviet to, perhaps, a slow adoption of this very important normative act? If you agree, I would ask you to instruct us to this effect. Thank you.

#### Says Next Congress To Be Held in June

*LD1303143393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1053 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to the Eighth Congress of Russian People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, the next issue we have to deal with if the date of our next Congress, the month. You recall that last time we said it would be in April. But April is next month. You surely agree that this would be inexpedient. Make it possible for the Supreme Soviet to do some work. Let us make the date no later than June. That is the first thing. A precondition, of course, is that events develop calmly in our country and that the Supreme Soviet is not subjected to persecution. Otherwise you will not even manage to reach your homes and we will have to recall you for a new Congress. So, on these conditions, I would like to ask for your support and agreement to hold the Congress no later than June.

#### Presents Concluding Address

*LD1303134293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1104 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Concluding address by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! Esteemed members of the Constitutional Court! Esteemed government! Esteemed guests of the Congress! Our Congress is coming to an end. The four days of work kept under tension not only this audience but our whole society. Naturally, the question arises: Why was this discussion necessary? What decisions were taken? Of what importance was it for our people of Russia? The main reason which gave rise to such a stormy discussion and tension in society does not lie on the surface or in this audience, of course. It lies deeper. The point is, everyday life of people gets worse, production falls, inflation pressure increases. This is what worries every citizen of Russia, every deputy, and every person who really cares about the interests of his or her countrypeople.

Analyzing the situation, you inevitably come to the conclusion that the failures in the economic reform are not coincidental. They are the result of the weak administration of society and the result of uncoordinated and inefficient state power; therein lies the reason for our limpness and weakness. People can feel this for themselves and every time they ask: Where is a way out? What will come next? Everyone is waiting for a reply from the higher power bodies, inter alia from the Congress. We should not have avoided resolving these issues. Therefore for the first time we tried not to avoid resolving these issues. In these conditions tension in the power bodies increased. In the deputies' corps, in other management structures, the necessity was becoming imminent to give up all kinds of emergencies and go down to a normal, constitutional way of management.

That is, every power structure should have its place in the management, the president as head of executive power, parliament as legislative body, and an independent responsible government which guarantees the current progress of the reforms, approved by the supreme representative power. It is on the force of this understanding of the role of the state power—I would like to remind the esteemed deputies of the following. As long ago as on the eve of the Sixth Congress, though with difficulty, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation adopted the draft law on amendments to regulate the work of all power structures. At the Sixth Congress, you will recall, these amendments were disrupted by a whole group of deputies. The point is that at that time, I would like to remind you, the myth was circulated that if these amendments were adopted by the Congress they would make impossible the receipt of aid from the West to a total value of 24 billion dollars.

Now once more there are discussions in the newspapers and on television alleging that the positions of Congress and parliament make it impossible for the West to give major aid to Russia. This is the latest great deception. First, Russia's problem is not receiving aid. Let us give this aid, together with the West, to Somalia, Ethiopia, and the countries south of the Sahara. The problem is in laying down serious, business-like, and mutually profitable cooperation with the West and with the whole world.

It was here at this Congress that we opened the doors, and at the Supreme Soviet that we made our society open, but we still have no serious concept of cooperation—just as we did not have one previously, so we still have none now.

In the second place, esteemed deputies, it is time to understand that national and state interests in all democratic countries and, in particular, in the Western democracies are firmly defended by their parliaments. This is also an axiom. Reagan and Bush are remarkable people, likeable politicians, they promised a great deal to Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, first in gratitude for the destruction and dissolution of the CMEA and of the Warsaw Treaty organization, then for the destruction of the Union, but alas, the Congress did not allocate even a single cent for this and it was right to do so! Why should the American working people pick up the tab for our errors? [applause] That is why if any of our deputies very much want to resemble the West, let us meet these noble intentions halfway and let us, by the next Congress, prepare a draft law on supplements to the Constitution in such a way that our government should get even more rights and greater responsibility for implementing the reforms. [applause]

One thing is clear, and this was heard here—which very much gladdens me—from the mouth of our esteemed president and from the mouth of our head of government and from many deputies. It is necessary to form a government and a supreme government apparatus consisting of honest, businesslike people, whose decency and professionalism would be guaranteed by the various socio-political forces in the country. Here one probably can find both civic harmony and civic peace, and, most importantly, good deeds and good undertakings. Precisely these issues were discussed at the Congress, and it was precisely around them that our dispute proceeded—in my view a businesslike dispute. Frankly speaking, whatever views were expressed here, whether they were acceptable or unacceptable for us or for each of us, nevertheless they were very interesting and necessary disputes and views that bear witness to the greater democratic thrust of our society.

Our work at the Congress has resulted in our adopting important and, in my opinion, I will say it straight, stabilizing decisions. There are several of them. First, the Congress adopted a decision which reconstitutes the Constitution of the Russian Federation to its full extent, and it is difficult to overestimate the importance of this factor. We know that in a democratic state order proceeds precisely from strict observance of the constitution. The motif of faithfulness to the constitution, and the fact that it is essential to observe it, were for the first time stated here especially pointedly. That is a peculiarity of the current Congress. By this means we can also confirm a procedure for the work of state bodies and official persons, as well as for the activity of all society. Life shows us that no divergence from the Constitution can be justified, however efficacious it may be, because in the final analysis it leads to legal nihilism and denial of lawfulness. It can be said that thanks to the decisions of the Congress, the country really can begin constitutional development by methods of trial and error. Led by the Constitution and the laws, we can effect real democracy.

Second, the Congress has done much to clear political obstruction and has opened the way for implementing the decisions of the Seventh Congress on socio-economic issues. Under these conditions it is only constitutional processes and coordinated work between parliament, the president, and the government that can produce good results. In this context it is especially significant that the current Congress has seriously enhanced the role of the government in tackling economic problems. The Congress compromised on the proposals by the president and the leader of the government, and satisfied their requests on many important issues. Now the leaders of the Central Bank, of the Commission on Federal Property, of the statistical directorate and of the pension fund will be working as part of the government. This does not mean of course that these departments, including the Central Bank, will come out from under the control of the Supreme Soviet. They remain in its subordination as the most important connecting links, but the decisions will make it possible to coordinate the work of all economic and financial departments and the government on the whole. This is an enormous move towards clear and well-coordinated implementation of the reforms.

Third, the Congress strongly polarized positions. Deputies, the government and the president have determined their political positions more clearly. There has not been full agreement. The main thing is that the imperative necessity of observing the Constitution has been decided. That is the main thing, but there is no tragedy in whether there is full agreement, and this should not be dramatized. It is time at long last to renounce unanimous endorsements and full agreements, so to speak, the essence of which lurks in the legacy of the past which some people have allegedly repudiated, whereas in practice all this is taking us back again. Nothing terrible has happened. Nothing tragic has happened. We will work punctiliously and strictly observing the Constitution and laws of our state.

I think that in the near future it would be desirable to conclude a pact of national accord between various parties and movements. The main provisions of the Constitution could form the basis of such a pact. We also expect that the roundtable on economic problems, which was set up following the decision of the Seventh Congress and the work of which was guaranteed by the decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the government, by the next Congress will prepare its proposals on national accord on the ways and methods for implementing the economic reforms.

This work is already being done and it just needs to be improved upon, but however hard we try, continuing confrontations will do harm. Our society now is striken by political dissent and society must, evidently, look into the development of new people and possibly new power bodies—but on the basis of the Constitution. So the most likely outcome is that society will, in the near future, decide that pre-term elections of both the deputies' corps and of the president are necessary. New people will emerge. A new team will emerge which will be less susceptible to ambition and which will live in accordance with the law and the Constitution.

We have not worked badly here, respected deputies, on the whole. We have drawn up decisions which are of strategic importance for Russia. I am sure that they will work to the country's advantage.

Respected deputies, we will all soon leave for home. I would like to ask you, in earnest, to treat very seriously and attentively the matter of ensuring that our congress's decisions are immediately implemented in the localities. It would, obviously, be expedient if expanded sessions of the soviets of people's deputies could be held in all of the republics, oblasts, krays, okrugs, and autonomous regions with a wide range of specialists and statesmen invited both from the center and the regions. It should be assumed that we, in the Supreme Soviet, ought to be able to agree that deputies representing the Supreme Soviet, Supreme Soviet employees, should go out to each of these regions to take part in the work of these sessions. Obviously, the Congress has shown that we need to do more work on and to study the theoretical principles involved in strengthening the statehood and the development of democracy in Russia. The democratic orientation of our reforms is the basis for the development of parliamentarism and of representative or direct democracy. We must be true to this course, whatever happens. That is, the democratic orientation of our country and of our country's development.

I would like to ask the Russian Academy of Sciences to organize a broadbased and well prepared scientific and practical conference involving the political parties, movements, people's deputies, and the parliament, who reflect the various points of view. Finally, I would like to make a request to the mass media, radio, and television. I would very much like to propose that they organize a series of roundtables, of debates, discussions to really show, in all their diversity, the difficulties involved in developing a state in Russia and to help our people to understand all these problems. The main thing, I call for objective information and a relaxation of the spirit of conflict which is propagated by television and the central newspapers. Thank you to our citizens who have supported the Congress as a stabilizing factor in our society. Thank you.

## Says Stabilizing Decisions Passed

*LD1303124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov described "the adoption of important and stabilising decisions" as the chief result of the 8th Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia.

Speaking on Saturday prior to the end of the congress proceedings, Khasbulatov said the decisions taken at the congress "fully" restore the Constitution. "Guided by the Constitution and laws, we can ensure real democracy", he added.

The congress "has in many respects cleared the political obstructions and opened the way for the implementation of the Seventh Congress decisions on socio-economic matters", the speaker said.

At the same time Khasbulatov remarked that "the congress has polarised positions. The deputies, the government and the president have defined their political positions more explicitly. No complete accord has been reached. But the main thing is that an imperative necessity of the observance of the constitution has been asserted," he stated.

The speaker suggested that a pact of national concord be concluded soon among various parties and movements on the strength of the basic provisions of the Constitution.

Having stated that present-day Russian society "has been affected by political discord", Khasbulatov expressed a supposition that in the near future society would arrive at a decision about the need for an early election of a corps of deputies and a president". "There will emerge new persons and new teams who will be less prone to ambitions and who will live according to the law, according to the Constitution", he emphasised.

The parliament chief said the main cause that brings about tension in society now is that "people's living conditions deteriorate with every passing day, production declines and the inflationary pressures increase".

"Analysing the situation, one inevitably arrives at a conclusion that setbacks in the economic reform are not fortuitous and that they are the result of poor administration of society and the result of uncoordinated and ineffectual state power," he observed.

The parliament speaker stressed that "each branch of power must take its place in the administration: the president as the chief executive, the parliament as legislature and an independent and responsible government ensuring the progress of reforms approved by the top representative power".

Khasbulatov said that talk has gained currency—in newspapers and on television—that the positions of the congress and the parliament do not ostensibly give an opportunity for the West to render large-scale assistance to Russia. "This is yet another large-scale deception," he stated, underlining that the problem for Russia is not in receiving assistance but in establishing serious, businesslike and mutually beneficial cooperation both with the West and the whole world."

In conclusion Khasbulatov urged the mass media to circulate "impartial information and to slacken the spirit of struggle which has been inculcated on television and in central newspapers". He expressed gratitude to citizens "who support the congress as a factor in stabilising our society".

## Chernomyrdin Urges Deputies To 'Get Back To Work'

*LD1303132093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1047 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Eighth Congress of Russian People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Respected people's deputies, I would like to make use of this podium once again to make an appeal to you today. The country is in a difficult situation, a difficult situation as far as the economy is concerned. I must tell you once again and appeal to you, draw your attention to this aspect of our lives. I must thank all of you for trusting the government and adding to its powers, in particular with reference to what was presented and voted on yesterday in point four. [applause]

I must tell you and everybody that the government is in place, the government is working, and will do everything to straighten out the situation in the country. [applause] I will take advantage of this opportunity. I would like once more to appeal to everybody sitting in this hall here, to the leaders of republics, heads of administration, leaders of enterprises, to all deputies, to say that today we all need to go back and get to work. People expect action from us today, real action, decisive action. I ask you to reassure our people, so that everybody knows that we will do everything to once more straighten out the situation in our country. I call on all of us to finish this work today, finish talking about anything else, and get down to our practical affairs in the name of our country and in the name of our people. Thank you. [applause]

### Talks About Economic Situation

*LD1303120293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—"The government will do everything to rectify the economic situation in the country," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin stated on Saturday.

In a brief speech before the end of the congress proceedings, Chernomyrdin expressed gratitude for the trust shown in the government and for additional powers granted to him. He urged the leaders of republics and administration chiefs of territories, regions, autonomous entities and directors of enterprises "to get down to work and move on to really resolute actions".

"It is essential to discontinue discourses and set about business in the name of our country and our people," the prime minister emphasised.

## Filatov Says Yeltsin To Hold Plebiscite

*LD1303143893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1254 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By parliamentary correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The existing government commission on the referendum will be reorganized into a commission to prepare a plebiscite [plebisit], Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, reported today. He addressed members of the Democratic Russia group following the end of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies. He said that Boris Yeltsin did not intend to give up the idea of a plebiscite.

Sergey Filatov said that new questions would also be put to the verdict of the people which had not previously figured in the president's drafts for the referendum. It is possible that they will concern the fate of the Congress of People's Deputies.

It is planned to recruit the forces of society to organize a nationwide survey. Specifically, a public committee and a public fund will be set up to carry out the plebiscite. Several tens of millions of rubles have already reached the fund.

Assessing the situation that has developed and formulating the democrats' tasks, Sergey Filatov said: "While having a war, do not light its flame in the localities, and allow the heads of administrations to work." The main thing now is to organise all structures for the fight against crime, the upsurge of which is undermining trust in the authorities. In this conection, it is planned to perform checks "on the propriety of state services" in conjunction with the Procuracy and the State Legal Administration.

In a conversation with journalists, Sergey Filatov voiced his chagrin over the fact that what he regards as insulting attacks on the state's highest officials were allowed to feature in the Congress's final appeal to the people.

The confrontation will intensify after forum, Sergey Filatov said. Replying to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent on possible changes within the Cabinet of Ministers after the Congress, he said that "nothing of that sort has as yet been contemplated."

## Congress Discusses Various Options for Referendum

*LD1303094793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0930 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Whether an April referendum in the Russian Federation should or should not be was discussed at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies during its morning session.

Three draft resolutions on the issue were presented to the deputies by Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the congress drafting commission. Each draft reflects its own concept.

A draft resolution sponsored by a group of people's deputies—Viktor Dorkin, Igor Murayev and Petr Sumin—categorically rejects the need to hold a referendum, reminding that the president has no constitutional right to fix it.

A draft resolution suggested by the drafting commission of the congress looks like a compromise one against this background. It does not reject the idea of a referendum but refers it for joint decision to the parliament, the head of state and the subjects of the Federation. It envisages that a referendum may be held if the idea is supported by not less than a half of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

And, finally, the third draft resolution was initiated by the Democratic Russia faction. Ryabov took a critical view of it, saying that when drawing up the document the drafters "were guided by the interests of political struggle". This draft resolution envisages the granting of the right to the president independently to determine a list of questions being brought up for a referendum and makes it binding upon the Supreme Soviet (parliament) to ensure the holding of the referendum in accordance with the current legislation not earlier than April 22, this year.

"Such an approach to a major political action of the state, when there is no proper legislative basis in settling relations with the subjects of the Federation, is fraught with a split in society," Ryabov emphasised.

Before holding a referendum, he said, it is necessary to work out legislation concerning elections and a referendum, coordinate it with the subjects of the Federation and only after that raise the question at a regular congress to decided "whether the country, the central authority and the subjects of the Federation are prepared to hold referendum".

Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told the deputies that there was a fourth draft resolution—a presidential one. The head of state suggested that an all-Russia referendum on the principles of constitutional reform be scheduled for April 25.

On the speaker's initiative, a one-hour break was announced at the Congress until noon so that the drafting commission could prepare a draft resolution with due regard for the president's stand.

### Shumeyko on Referendum Proposal

*LD1303122793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0943 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Respected congress participants, shortly before me some speakers at this rostrum said that there is no real crisis but that there is a political crisis. Indeed, insofar as the economic reform and the whole economy is concerned, there is no constitutional crisis. There is a political crisis and I will tell you why. I will try very briefly to relate that there are, perhaps, in our view two possible ways of getting out of the situation today in which the economy finds itself. The first option is to continue the reforms which Russia began a year ago. The main points of this option, as Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin told us from this rostrum are as follows: implementing the reforms in a reasonably short time through a structural reorganization, a tough credit and finance policy, through rapid privatization and purpose-orientated social support. This is one of the options. There is a second option about which many political forces speak. It is a slow entry into a market economy, a milder credit and finance policy, a slower privatization, preserving state regulation of prices, and so on and so forth. Effectively, in my view, it is rejection of reforms.

As you well understand, for either of these options to be implemented, there must be a political force which is capable of fulfilling them. There is a political force capable of implementing the first option—the president and the executive bodies subordinate to him. This political force must be independent to do this job, because implementing reforms at an accelerated pace is difficult and often requires deviating from the standing legislation. The second option also has its political force, quite a normal one—this is a two-stage system, consisting of an independent government subordinate to the legislative power, i.e. either to the Supreme Soviet or to the Congress. So this second option can be fulfilled in a well-organized way. Therefore, at this Congress, in discussions around the referendum both in the lobbies and everywhere, it is not some sort of constitutional struggle or attempts to weaken the foundations of the Russian political system or, as some people are saying here, the referendum will ruin Russia—it is not this we are talking about.

What we are here talking about is a harsh political struggle, an uncompromising political struggle between these two variants of a way out of the economic situation. That is why the president ... [changes thought] Do you really not understand that the executive branch of power realizes that a referendum is a very menacing and mighty weapon? Indeed, it is the final variant, which the president said at this podium. I stress, however, that it is a legitimate, lawful option, allowed for in the Constitution, and there is a law on holding referenda. The appeal to the people at this time is precisely connected with the fact that the economy is on the edge of the abyss. You are absolutely right in saying that for a year or two a moratorium ought to be declared on all political struggle and that we ought to get down to dealing with the economy. It is all very well to utter this slogan, but actually it is a very thankless task dealing with the economy if you are deprived of opportunities for doing so, because you are engaged in constant struggle. So when a people's deputy made accusations beforehand that, well, the first deputy prime minister is not dealing with what he ought to, well, let me recall the words of the great Lenin, as the saying goes: Politics is a concentrated reflection of the economy. [laughter, sporadic applause] If I am to take this further, this work on the referendum does not take up more than half a percentage point of my working time as first deputy prime minister. Do not worry, I will manage to do everything.

Now as far as the draft is concerned, the draft submitted by the president, I must give you some explanations. The question of what issues were being submitted by the president emerged in the course of the drafting commission's work. I would ask people's deputies to read the letter the president encloses with the draft that has been submitted. The president writes: In connection with the fact that in accordance with the existing laws of the Russian Federation, the all-Russian referendum on the basic provisions of a new constitution, scheduled for 11 April, can no longer take place on the above date, the referendum is dead. Long live the new referendum. It is absolutely not these issues that are at stake here, no way. The situation has, indeed, changed. Let me recall again that the president said from this rostrum for the Congress and the whole world to hear that he was taking the responsibility upon himself. I again mention [noise in hall], I again mention what was meant. No need to make a row. I have a gullet big enough to shout louder! No need. The point is that all the responsibility consists in agreeing the questions with the subjects of the Federation, without fail. The president will never submit questions to the proposed referendum if these questions have not been agreed upon with the heads of republics and the heads of administrations and them alone. What they said when they were standing on this rostrum is that they meant the questions which had been published everywhere. Indeed, the chairman of the Karelian soviet has just been telling you that they have resolved the question of land—indeed, why should it be tackled? Thank you for your attention.

### Referendum 'Will Be Held'

*LD1303135293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Report by Irina Mishina and Sergey Medvedev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Mishina] We have Sergey Medvedev on the line. He is in the Kremlin. [passage omitted] We have all witnessed the battles which have broken out around the issue of holding a referendum. Will a referendum be held; will it exist at all?

[Medvedev] I have just, literally a few minutes ago, spoken to Vladimir Fillipovich Shumeyko, who as you know heads the commission on holding the referendum. He said: A poll, regardless of any situation, will be held, and this is within the framework of the law on referenda.

This, in general, is an important decision. How will it be held? Through the mail, through telegrams, through departments. A poll will be held, and if a million signatures are gathered then there will be a referendum as well. As to what questions will be put to the citizens of Russia, according to the law the people who hold the poll do not have the right to include any other questions than the ones which will be put forward at the referendum. They will be the same questions, or a description of these questions. [passage omitted]

### Sokolov Says Referendum 'Harmful'

*LD1303102393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Russia "does not need a referendum now. It is politically harmful. But if the president insists on it—let there be a referendum on the group of questions which he has brought up," Venyamin Sokolov, chairman of the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic, said in an interview with a correspondent of Television Channel Two, broadcast on Saturday [13 March].

In this case, "we must pass a resolution on political responsibility for the outcome of the referendum," Sokolov added. Speaking about the reasons for a continuation of the Congress proceedings, he explained that this was prompted "by the need to monitor the situation to the end", since, he said, there exist "threats on the part of the president". "We must see what stands behind this, and we must understand what will be the consequences for the country," Sokolov emphasised.

The Congress "has already decided to cancel the referendum," Sokolov said. "We passed a resolution, from which it follows that if any steps which would go beyond the constitution framework are taken, at that very moment Boris Yeltsin would cease to be the president and any other actions of his would from that moment be already unlawful and unconstitutional".

The congress proved up to the political tasks facing it and at this forum "we are actually summing up the results of the previous Congress," the council chairman believes. "Unfortunately, the executive authority has not introduced almost any adjustments to the economic policy and the situation has only deteriorated," he observed.

Speaking about a relationship between the executive and legislative branches of power, Sokolov said "this is not confrontation between two personalities but is the reflection of the processes that take place in society and of the crisis in which the country has found itself and the recognition of the fact that the policy which last year was referred to as the Gaydar policy is unfit".

Most deputies with different views, feeling their civic responsibility, have now rallied at the Congress round one issue, namely, how to keep Russia as an integrated state and take the country out of the economic and political crisis," Sokolov said.

### Congress Cancels 11 Apr Referendum

*LD1303114593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1106 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The Eighth Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia on Saturday [13 March] passed a resolution recognising it inadvisable to hold an all-Russian referendum now.

The resolution points out that the holding of referenda now may "entail dangerous consequences for the state and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation, considering the imperfection of the legislative basis for the holding of all-Russia referenda and the ambiguity of legal interpretations of their results".

The resolution points to "the absence of the constitutional right of the president of the Russian Federation to set a referendum".

The congress reassigned the funds, which amount to 20,000 million roubles and which were planned to be used for the holding of the referendum, for the construction of housing for servicemen.

### Sokolov Makes Appeal to Federation Citizens

*LD1303132993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1058 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by Beniamin Sergeyevich Sokolov, chairman of a chamber of the Supreme Soviet, at the 13 March afternoon session of the Congress of People's Deputies, from the Grand Kremlin Palace—live]

[Text] Appeal to the Citizens of the Russian Federation. The Eighth Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation has ended. All its work was directed at making democracy in the country, in search of a civilized structure of federal power in Russia, and of the reinforcement of constitutional law and order. Only by such means can scope be opened up for economic reforms, can normal conditions be created for the life of Russians. For almost two years now, attempts to resolve problems relating to increasing the efficiency of power by strengthening one branch of power, by investing special powers in the president—something which the Congress has opted for more than once—have not produced any positive results. The economic reform has turned against the majority of the people. As the conclusion of the Russian Federation's Constitutional Court shows, the Basic Law of the country is constantly being violated. Many decrees by the president contradict it, which is causing more and more damage to the Russian State. Bitter experience has brought the corps of deputies to the conclusion that Russia must reject extraordinary measures and powers. Society can develop normally only if all state figures, institutions of power, political parties, movements, and all citizens strictly observe the existing Constitution. Precisely this is the main conclusion of the Congress: The theme of strengthening the Constitution will permeate all its decisions. However, such an approach evokes sharp nonacceptance on the part of the president of Russia. He made his proposals, the essence of which was to preserve for himself special powers which do not correspond to the Constitution. Such a position did not find support from the Congress, because it contradicts the declared intent to build a law-governed state and a democratic society. The Congress adopted a democratic decision which opens up new opportunities to the government to coordinate the entire economic, financial, and credit work in the country. Our country must enter a normal constitutional life. We are convinced that, only on such a path, can one achieve the renewal and prosperity of great Russia. The majority of the Congress is proceeding not from personal but from all-national interests. Due to such aspirations, the Congress is for some reason called conservative and reactionary. A new chain of confrontation is being repeatedly imposed on society. Society is being drawn into new referenda which are binding on nobody. Who considered the will of the people when it demanded the union state should be maintained? The Congress does not ignore the people's opinion but strives to defend it from political adventurism, from chaos, and from the tragedy of the collapse of Russia. The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation calls on all citizens of Russia to preserve calm, legality, and order, and to concentrate creative efforts on overcoming the economic crisis and moral and spiritual ruin. We have passed through a most complex stage of democratic transformations, not without difficulties and not without sacrifices. Any attempts to turn history back always and everywhere have either ended shamefully or have led to a national tragedy and to deep upheavals.

## Further on Address to Citizens

*LD1303121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies has urged all citizens of Russia "to concentrate constructive efforts on overcoming the economic crisis and the spiritual and moral desolation".

The address, adopted on Saturday [13 March] prior to the end of the congress proceedings, points out that attempts that have been made for almost two years to resolve the problems of raising the effective of power at the expense of strengthening one of its branches—vesting the president with special powers—"have not produced any positive results".

"The economic reform backfired against a majority of the people", the document says. Referring to the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the congress draws attention to the fact that "the fundamental law of the country is continuously violated and many decrees issued by the president run counter to it, which does an increasing damage to the Russian state".

The congress, the address points out, passed a democratic decision opening up new opportunities for the government to coordinate all economic and monetary activities in the country. "Our country must enter a normal constitutional life. We are convinced that only on this road it is possible to achieve the revival and prosperity of great Russia".

## Deputy Presents Resolution; Urges 'Vote for Stability'

*LD1303130393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0958 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Speech by People's Deputy Viktor Ivanovich Dorkin to Eighth Congress of Russian People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Voronin, chairing] The floor is given to Viktor Ivanovich Dorkin to present the fifth draft resolution on behalf of a group of deputies.

[Dorkin] Esteemed people's deputies! Russia is a grand country and any good idea is taken to absurd extremes there. Thus, the idea of a referendum, a remarkable idea—the people's wishes, the people's will—could likewise be taken to an absurd extreme at the moment. It is turning into a real farce. After all, think about it, who is going to interpret the results of the referendum, and how? There are masses of questions that are not resolved by existing legislation, and so, again, the question that was raised by a group of deputies as the agenda for a Congress agenda is again an acute one.

May I remind you that 222 deputies proposed the convening of this Congress to resolve two questions. The first was a moratorium on the holding of referendums and elections, and the second was the constitutional agreement. I am still convinced that if we could see our way to healthy discussion and healthy relations, then these questions could form the basis of agreement for us. Regrettably, many political groups are making use of our sincere wishes for their own purposes, the purposes of the political struggle.

Now, to get to the main point. Again we are faced in Russia with the question of which road to take—to get down to painstaking work that will lead as a result to healthy processes, or to embark on a revolutionary path of development. We could be about to let another chance slip. When people say there is a crisis, I agree. There are objective reasons for this crisis. I would divide them into two groups. The first group is the establishing of Russian statehood itself—the Russian border, currency, domestic and foreign policy, military doctrine—all of these issues must be tackled. The second group is the new laws that have recently been passed—the Federation Treaty, the institution of the presidency, the Constitutional Court, a standing parliament. Indeed, certain problems are arising in draft laws and in existing legislation. Thus it is the job of the Supreme Soviet, the task of the president, to sit down together and seek ways to resolve these issues, and not try to find just one, simple means. They might think, those calling for a constitutional assembly and a new constitution, that a new constitution would bring an immediate change to the situation in the country. I am deeply convinced that a new constitution could not be adopted at the moment. Not because the deputies are conservatives, but because in a situation where the system of economic, social, and political values has not yet formed, where society is so discordant, no constitutional assembly will find a consensus. Even if a new constitution is passed, it will end up as nothing more than a piece of paper to which people will pay no more attention than they do to the existing laws.

This must simply not be permitted. At present I see the main problem in getting down to specific, practical work. The subjects of the Federation are right here: there is no mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty. We have adopted a decision. Well, we can now deal with and elaborate such a specific mechanism. There exist two key aspects which, in my view, underpin the edifice of the previous administrative system. In the first place it is the budget and, in the second place, it is the administrative cum territorial structure. Well, until both these edifices are altered, the force-field of the previous structures will continue to put pressure on us. After all, what are we talking about? Things must not only be brought home to the subjects of the Federation, we must get down to the grassroots. There is also the problem of towns, villages, settlements; there are the problems of territories where these people live. If these people live well on these territories, this means that all of Russia is, on the whole, a normal, prosperous state. Well, one of the key problems now is the division of powers. Where are the federal powers? Where are the subjects of the Federation? Where is the local self-government? There ought, at long last, to be a division between the state authorities and the local self-government.

The draft resolution which we propose is supported by many oblast and kray soviets in the person of their representative bodies. The package of documents given to you at the Congress contains these appeals from the relevant sessions. So now I think the question should be phrased only as follows. As a matter of principle, we must at some point leave political intrigue behind and take a clear stand: Either we are playing with Russia's destiny, or the Congress will, after all, demonstrate its wisdom. I am absolutely confident of this—and it is not the case of an aggressive majority, but of people who represent their voters. They feel the influence of and the pressure from these voters. I ask you to vote to cancel the referendum, to vote for our draft resolution, to vote for the stability of Russia, and for a chance for Russia to develop in a normal way. Thank you. [applause]

## Text of Congress Decision on Preterm Elections

*LD1303133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Decision of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation on Introducing Changes and Amendments to the Constitution of the Russian Federation on the Issue of the Possibility of Preterm Elections of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and the President of the Russian Federation. The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation resolves:

to instruct the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to examine the question of the expediency of drawing up a draft law of the Russian Federation "On Changes and Amendments to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia," envisaging the possibility of holding preterm elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation and of the president of the Russian Federation.

[Signed] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation R. I. Khasbulatov, the Kremlin, Moscow
[Dated] 13 March 1993

## Eighth Congress of People's Deputies Ends 13 Mar

*LD1303120593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1151 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The Eighth Extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia came to a close in the Kremlin on Saturday [13 March] after four days of work.

Its chief result is the passage of a resolution which, in the opinion of many an analyst, has changed the balance of power in favour of the legislative branch, noticeably truncating the rights of the head of state.

The congress recognised it inadvisable to hold an all-Russia referendum.

The parliament has been instructed to consider the advisability of preparing amendments to the Constitution that would make it possible to hold an early election of a president and a corps of deputies.

The congress adopted an address to the citizens of Russia.

In his closing remarks, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov said "the congress resulted in the adoption of important and stabilising decisions". He emphasised that due to the congress decisions "the country can embark upon the constitutional way of development". He urged all social forces to conclude a pact of national concord which would enable them to advance more successfully along the road of reforms.

## Activities Surrounding 13 Mar Congress Session Reported

### Democrats Demand Reforms Defended

*LD1303110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—"The deputies of the democratic faction believe that a constitutional coup has been carried out at the 8th Congress of People's Deputies and that absolute power, both legislative and executive, is already virtually in the hands of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov," Sergey Yushenkov, coordinator of the "Radical Democrats" faction, told ITAR-TASS on Saturday [13 March] after a meeting of representatives of the democratic bloc factions during an interval in the congress proceedings. Speakers at the meeting voiced demands for more resolute measures to uphold reforms being carried out in Russia.

"We have to urge the president to defend the Constitution," Yushenkov said. The only way for a "peaceful and constitutional" resolution of the conflict that has developed at the congress is for Boris Yeltsin to address the people, he added.

Yushenkov admitted that "the Congress, most probably, would vote against the April 25 referendum". In that case, in his view, the president would have "the right to address the people and hold a countrywide referendum".

Yushenkov said the Radical Democrats faction had prepared an appeal to the citizens of Russia, urging them "to support the president who, despite the errors made, is the only guarator of democracy and order in Russia".

Read out at the meeting of representatives of the democratic bloc factions was an application to the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation to check the constitutionality of the congress resolution dated March 12 "on measures to implement a constutitional reform" and a number of other decisions of the congress. The collection of deputies' signatures to the application was started.

### 20,000 Muscovites Rally Against Congress

*LD1403095593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] More than 20,000 Muscovites attending a meeting with deputies from democratic factions have assessed the decision of the Eighth Congress as an illegal constitutional coup. They called for an all-Russian rally to be held on 28 March to demand a referendum on disbanding the Congress. Their meeting with deputies from democratic factions took place on Saturday evening in Moscow on Vasilyevskiy Spusk. The rally participants also demanded Ruslan Khasbulatov's resignation. [passage omitted]

### Miners Awaiting Word From Congress

*OW1303144493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1406 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vyacheslav Golikov, the chairman of the Council of working committees of the Kuznetsk basin, declared to INTERFAX on Saturday [13 March] that the miners of the Kuznetsk basin are working acccording to their normal schedule and awaiting the final decisions of the Congress of the People's Deputies and the answer of the Russian President.

The day before the Council of the Working Committees and the miners Independent trade union of the Kuznetsk basin demanded that the Congress and Supreme Soviet "should immediately adopt a decree on power granting the full executive authority to the president and the government." In addition, they proposed to appoint a new time to hold a referendum with the president-proposed wording not later than this June.

Otherwise the miners "will retain the right for a general political strike." The miners from Vorkuta, who demanded to hold an All-Russian referendum, expressed their solidarity with the Kuznetsk basin miners. An address to the Russian President and the People's Deputies adopted at a joint session of the Council of the representatives of the Vorkuta Independent trade union of miners and the city working committee on Saturday contains this demand.

The address cites that "the 8th Congress of the Russian People's Deputies is trying to usurp all kinds of power in its hands." That is why the miners insist that the president-proposed issues should obligatory be presented at the referendum." Earlier the Vorkuta city working committee addressed the President and Russian citizens with a demand to disband the Congress and the Russian Supreme Soviet and to introduce a direct presidential ruling until adoption of a new Constitution.

### Kuzbass Miners Demand Decisive Steps

*LD1303144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 13 (TASS)—ITAR-TASS has learned at the congress lobby, the Kuzbass Council of Labor Collectives, the Independent Trade Unions of Kuzbass Miners and the All-Russian Fund for Support of the First Russian President have sent a cable in address of the Russian president and the forum secretariat.

The cable says the following:

"Watching the congress, we have noted the worst fears became a reality. In response to concessions, the congress and the Supreme Soviet have completely usurped power in the country. A strangling knot for ITAR-TASS and the Ostankino State TV and Radio Company is being prepared. A sentence of inexpediency of the referendum has been pronounced.

"We demand that the popularly-elected president take decisive steps to stabilize political and economic situation in Russia. We assure the president we will support such measures with all means we have."

### Vorkuta Miners Supports Yeltsin

*LD1303205993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondent in the Komi Republic, Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, has reported that a joint session on 13 March of the Council of Independent Miners' Representatives and the Vorkuta town workers' committee adopted a message to the president, people's deputies, and all citizens of Russia.

[Kuznetsov] The leaders of the Arctic region's working movement appraised the documents of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies as an attempt to usurp all forms of power....

[Announcer, interrupting] Unfortunately, all our attempts to get an improvement in the quality of our telephone connection with Syktyvkar were unsuccessful. Therefore, I shall ask our producer Yuriy Bogdanov to read Yevgeniy Kuznetsov's material.

[Bogdanov] The leaders of the Arctic region's working movement appraised the documents of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies as an attempt to usurp all forms of power into their control alone and to remove the Russian Federation's citizens from any participation in running the affairs of society and state. The message from the Vorkuta miners includes demands that a Russian referendum be held, that it definitely contain the questions submitted by Russia's president, and that the anti-people congress and Russian Supreme Soviet also be immediately disbanded.

### Opinion Poll Shows Support for Yeltsin

*LD1303093693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0848 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar—On 11 March, the independent Sociology Institute of Parliamentarism polled 1,000 Muscovites.

The personal popularity of the Russian president has increased from 30 percent (18 February) to 36 percent. The personal popularity of the Supreme Soviet chairman is 12 percent, while 64 percent assess his actions negatively.

About 47 percent favor turning Russia into a presidential republic, 13 percent are against this, and 40 percent find it difficult to reply. Of those polled, 54 percent favor the new Russian Federation Constitution being adopted by a constitutional assembly; 11 percent are against.

Conclusion: Muscovites are oriented toward strong presidential power and support the Russian president.

## Leaders Reaction Cited as Congress Closes

### Rutskoy 'Satisfied' With Results

*LD1303154393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] The vice president is satisfied with the results of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation in as much as it represented a peaceful solution of the problems we are facing today, Andrey Fedorov, a political adviser of the Russian vice president, said in an interview with a RIA correspondent. From now on, Russia's Central Bank and the federal pension fund—that is, major financial resources—will be involved in the process of political reforms, which will strengthen the government's positions, Fedorov said.

### Victory for Khasbulatov's 'Coup' Noted

*LD1303153493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS writer Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—The 8th extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies, which finished here today, was not the longest one over the congress history of the past two years.

Nevertheless, it cost approximately 350 million roubles to Russian tax payers, according to correspondents' estimations, and failed to achieve any positive results, although parliament head Ruslan Khasbulatov said the Congress "adopted important and stabilizing decisions".

One could speak about wasted money, but this is not the worst thing about the congress. It is worse that the congress revealed inability of power structures to stop "the war" between the executive and legislative powers and prevent further escalation of tension. For four days law-makers settled a score with the executive authority, leaving aside the most acute Russian problems.

Who needed the Congress and who won it? The forum was convened on the initiative of some deputies, including the parliament speaker, representatives of local councils and the public to cancel the referendum on fundamental provisions of the Constitution, the 7th Congress scheduled for April 11 in its compromise resolution. Many thought the arrangement may play a destabilizing role and leads to the waste of money.

The president agreed with the need to hold the Congress and even with a possibility of canceling the referendum, in case the two power branches reach an agreement on overcoming the constitutional crisis and powers of the two authorities are established (for instance, in the law on powers) till the adoption of a new constitution. Still, this did not happen.

The atmosphere and script of the 8th Congress reminded those of the previous forum: first, the president acted peacefully and called for cooperation, but the majority of deputies ignored his requests and appeals for a compromise. The president speech of March 12 was more tough and included threats, then the state head left the congress.

The difference between the two latest forums is only that the 7th Congress in December, 1992, had a happy ending, as the compromise resolution "On Stabilization of the Russian Constitutional System" was reached with the mediation of the Constitutional Court chairman.

The 8th Congress ignored Yeltsin's calls for preserving the resolution valid and canceled the document, describing it as hasty and incorrect. Thus, the Congress buried both the article on referendum and the fragile concord, which began to shape up in December.

After leaving the Congress, the president decided to independently appeal to the people and put on a plebiscite the questions on land and presidential republic.

The presidential draft resolution on holding the referendum on April 25 submitted to the Congress today was rejected by 580 votes (221 deputies voted for the resolution). Another draft resolution was adopted, in which the Congress proposed to consider "currently inexpedient to hold an all-Russian referendum" and resoluted to improve the legislative basis and return to the question in summer.

However, the major goal of law-makers was not achieved, the plebiscite will be organized by the president with the help of executive structures, and not by the two power branches, as said the resolution of the 7th Congress.

Now the president, who has no right to announce a referendum in accordance with the Constitution, has only one way of holding a plebiscite. Another way of collecting one million of signatures to announce the referendum would take too much time.

In contrast to referendum, plebiscite voting results does not have obligatory juridical force, they are of consultative character. However, in case of a positive outcome of the voting, Boris Yeltsin can refer to "popular will" in his actions against the opponents. One can only hope such a voting outcome will not be used as a basis for introducing the state of emergency.

Some Congress deputies saw the way out from the political deadend in simultaneous pre-term elections of the president and deputies. However, the Congress did not include in the Constitution a norm accepting preterm elections and submitted the issue for consideration of the Supreme Soviet.

Who gained by the Congress, which has only deteriorated the situation in the country? The majority of deputies, primarily the parliament speaker, believe they have "defeated" the executive authority, by denying the president a compromise. The speaker's positions have consolidated even more.

According to a Russian deputy, "Ruslan Khasbulatov has usurped power in Russia". Deputies from democratic factions said in a statement today "Constitutional coup was made at the 8th Congress and the absolute legislative and executive power is actually in the hands of the Supreme Soviet chairman".

Unfortunately, only the minority of deputies understand such a "victory" will lead to further destabilization, and, possibly, measures the whole country may suffer from.

## Zorkin Grants Interview

*LD1303131393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Interview by correspondent Vladimir Martynov with Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court, from the corridors of the Grand Kremlin Palace during the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies—live]

[Text] [Martynov] The most important results of the Congress are probably the constitutional results, and so with the constitutional results of the Congress—Chairman of Russia's Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin.

[Zorkin] As you will understand, it is difficult to give a full account of the results, but I think that the result is that events have not taken an unconstitutional turn. As you will understand, this was in the air. I think that this is, nevertheless, an achievement of the Russians, and, on the whole, of the entire deputies' corps, indeed of all the powers. It seems to me that now we have a unique opportunity to move, nevertheless, from pre-catastrophe to stabilization; to emerge from the abyss through a strong government, through a strong legislative body, under the leadership of a strong president of Russia. It seems to me that now no one—least of all the president—has lost from what has happened at the Congress. He must be the leader of the Russians and such a unique opportunity has arisen. I think that one should not lose this.

[Martynov] Valeriy Dmitriyevich, please give us your opinion as a lawyer. The president proposed to remove from the powers of the Congress the prerogatives of executive and judicial power. That, as you remember, was his proposal.

[Zorkin] Well after all, enshrined in the Constitution is the principle of the division of powers. This runs through Article 3 and through other articles. I now do not see a problem in relying on the text of other articles of the Constitution. If a dispute arises, after all, any court will decide on the basis of the principle which is enshrined in the Constitution. This is beyond doubt.

### Zorkin Comments, Leaves for U.S.

*LD1303145193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1456 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—"We have avoided the option of unconstitutional development, the possiblity of which was hinted at by many" is how Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court, summed up the Eighth Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia.

"It is better to live according to a bad constitution than without constitution. The Constitution now gives an opportunity to have the following chain of authorities: a strong legislature—a strong government—a strong president," Zorkin told journalists at the close of the Congress.

Asked by ITAR-TASS how the balance of powers can be estimated now that the Eighth Congress is over, Zorkin said: "Considering the legal aspect, the president won rather than lose. He just cannot be 'proficient in every field', including the province of an economic executive. He must exercise general guidance of the executive power. And he has the right and the possibility to do this now," there is a chance for our president to turn into such a head of state about whom one can say "this is a Russian Roosevelt, or a Russian de Gaulle (exclamational)".

Speaking about his attitude to the referendum, Zorkin said he would not go to the polls. "Way back in December, such a referendum was essential to help the situation forward towards relaxation of tension, but after the leap to hyperinflation, to a disaster, a referendum cannot play down political passions," he said.

Zorkin rejected reproaches addressed to the Constitutional Court which, ostensbly, "found itself pocketed by the Supreme Soviet (parliament)".

The Constitutional Court "took the side of the parliament to the same extent as it sided with the president in an effort to maintain the balance of powers. This is necessary to prevent the federal authority from collapsing to avert the materialisation of grim prophesies about an impending 'new Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreement', this time in application to the Russian Federation," he said.

Touching upon the problems of elaborating a new constitution, Zorkin emphasised that before adopting it "it is necessary to come to realise that it is essential." But in the light of the crisis situation, "we must abide by the current Constitution which stipulates the principle of the separation of powers, the declaration of human rights, and federal relationships."

The chief justice of the Constitutional Court declared for a national salvation government to be finally formed and work with reliance on normal, sober-minded and centrist forces.

Zorkin believes that a great role in attaining national concord is played by independent media. "The fourth estate should not be ruined," he emphasised.

### Ambartsumov Comments

*LD1303143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Head of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Activities Yevgeniy Ambartsumov believes unfulfilled Western promises to render many-billions-strong assistance to Russia "have affected the country's public opinion".

If internal political situation deteriorates in Russia, "the West will also carry a certain degree of responsibility".

Speaking to correspondents upon the completion of the 8th People's Deputies Congress, the official noted "Russia has its own interests and they primarily must be defended". This, in his opinion, "does not run counter to Democratic Russia's return to the international community".

"But we must count on understanding of the international community and its encouragement of the democratic process. The international community should not act as a detached observer, watching from afar a fight of Russian democracy 'tigers'," stressed the parliamentary committee head.

He denied a possible resignation of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, saying the Supreme Soviet has "positively influenced the Russian foreign policy and activities of the Foreign Ministry".

"The president has also contributed to changes in the foreign policy, as he stressed Russia cannot duplicate the U.S. policy. I think after the influence on the part of the Supreme Soviet and the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Activities, the Foreign Ministry has begun holding a rather correct course," stressed Ambartsumov.

### Shumeyko Comments

*OW1303170893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Vladimir Shumeyko declared that any attempts to drive a wedge in the relations between the President and Premier, between the head of state and the government, will be fruitless. Responding to an INTERFAX correspondent on the completion of the 8th Congress of the People's Deputies, the Vice Premier underlined that "there were never any contradictions between the President and Prime Minister on the conduction of economic reform."

He reported that the President has prolonged his authorities [as received] as the leader of the governmental commission to hold the referendum. The work on preparation for the plebiscite will be continued, the First Vice Premier concluded.

### Opposition Bloc Criticizes Yeltsin

*LD1303181593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1715 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 13 Tass—The 8th Congress of Russian People's Deputies did not remove the major reason for instability and confrontation in Russia, concluded a news conference of the Russian Unity Bloc of opposition parliamentary factions.

Explaining the Bloc's stand, Mikhail Chelnokov said the Russian president "is the source of tension and instability in Russia." "If we do not solve the issue of the president and his associates, we will not solve the problem of our country," stressed Yuriy Bondarenko, another leader of the Russian Unity.

The Congress stated a certain stage of a compromise between various political forces in society, said Russian Unity Coordinator Ilya Konstantinov.

However, in his opinion, "the fight is not finished, it is only beginning. It will be the fight for ministers' posts, mass media bodies, around the procurator's office and so on. One should not count on consensus: there is no such and will not be in the near future," stressed Konstantinov.

Speaking on possible regrouping of political forces as result of Congress decisions, Bloc Coordinator Mikhail Astafyev recalled frequent large-scale pass of defeated leader's associates to the winner are typical of Russian political life. He stressed Khasbulatov "brilliantly won the Congress, which was a major political defeat of Yeltsin".

Touching on possible development of the situation, the parliamentary opposition representatives noted they now fear most force actions of Boris Yeltsin, who, in their opinion, may introduce the state of emergency, after appealing to the people.

Russian Unity leaders stressed their adherence to the lawful and constitutional methods of solution of the current Russian crisis.

They voiced special satisfaction over the stand taken by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on the last day of the Congress, who appealed to deputies for cooperation. Speaking of Chernomyrdin's political prospects, Vladimir Isakov noted half in jest "they are not hopeless".

## Reaction to Proceedings From Congress

### Yeltsin 'Stepped on a Rake'

*MK1303103693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under general headline: "Congress Strips Russian President of Virtually All Powers as Head of Executive Branch"]

[Text] "The president has for the third time stepped on a rake [nastupil na grabli]"—this was how Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the Civic Union executive committee, described the president's demonstrative walkout at the Congress after all of his amendments had been rejected, in conversation with a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent. According to Lipitskiy, similar demarches had already been made at the Sixth Congress (when the government staged a walkout from the Congress) and at the Seventh Congress (when the president, after leaving the congress, made an appeal to the people), but "at that time there were no winners. We all found ourselves among the losers."

Shortly after that presidential demarche Ruslan Khasbulatov, Valeriy Zorkin, and Aleksandr Rutskoy went off to meet with Boris Yeltsin and tried to persuade him to return to the deputies. According to eyewitness accounts, however, "the meeting was brief and the sides parted extremely displeased with each other."

The "centrists" believe that the best way out of the present crisis could be an early general election.

Addressing a press conference, Oleg Rumyantsev, chairman of the Constitutional Commission and leader of the Social Democratic Center, stated that violations of the Constitution on the part of both the executive and the legislative branches will not stop even after the Congress; then the Constitutional Court will have to instruct a new Congress to call a general election, "possibly as early as November or December."

Rumyantsev read out a statement from Civic Union containing a call for the speediest holding of new elections and a warning that the attempt to replace a new Russian Constitution with the Federation Treaty and bilateral treaties between the center and Federation subjects could lead to the rapid disintegration of the country.

### Yeltsin Aide on 'Dictatorship'

*MK1303123693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

["Opinion" article by Valeriy Nadezhdin, expert in the Russian Federation president's administration: "Eighth Congress: Day Three. Toward a Dictatorship Via 'Democracy' in the Form of Soviets"]

[Text] There is no doubt that what the president had in store for day three of the Congress came as no surprise to the speaker. I am not referring to the leak of information from the president's "headquarters" (that was visible to the untutored eye)—what I am talking about essentially was the deliberate, single-minded act of provoking the president into taking the only possible steps he could take. The crisis was quite deliberately **"pushed"** to the next, higher level.

What option did the president have? Despite resolute and, one might say, selfless support from the head of government, none of Boris Nikolayevich's fundamental proposals, let alone the package of proposals, was adopted by the congress. All efforts by the executive authorities to snatch the "pennant," in the form of regulatory and supervisory functions relating to the Federation's finances, federal property, and so on, were scotched by the congress.

Not only does the present body of deputies not want a strong presidential authority, it does not want a strong Russian Government either.

Who stands to gain from a further exacerbation of confrontation between the authorities against the background of the systemic crisis in society? Sadly, it will have to be admitted that the president is correct to warn that a "third force" will come to power in Russia. Neither the current executive authority, nor the legislative authority in its present composition, including the leaders of the latter (primarily, rather), if the dominant trends at the Congress are to develop, **has any prospects in the near future**.

The "collective dictator," which the supreme legislative authority in the shape of the congress is proving to be, is clearing the way for the diktat of chaos, regionalism, and disintegration of the country. There would inevitably follow (it is the classic scenario) the usual dictatorship by a group of "representatives of the working people."

Whether it will emerge from the National Salvation Front, from "Working Moscow," or some other similar entity, is another matter. But let us say that there are plenty of people eager to offer themselves as "true people's leaders" (Astafayev, Aksyuchits, Baburin, Chelnokov, and so on, evidently having now decided that the situation is "favorable," have been vigorously, unashamedly, publicly "offering themselves" throughout the congress).

It has to be said that the situation is a quite unique one **for Russia**: The dictatorship is growing via democracy in a Soviet form beneath the slogan "constitutional reform in the manner laid down by the Russian Federation Constitution" (see point 1 of the resolution of the Eighth Congress).

### Shumeyko on Lack of Budget

*LD1303130893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko rejected Ruslan Khasbulatov's attempt to lay the blame on the government for the fact that parliament had not yet adopted the 1993 budget. In an RIA interview Shumeyko rejected Khasbulatov's main argument that the cabinet is not reporting its foreign currency expenditure. The government gives all data on all its foreign currency expenditure to the planning budget commission on a weekly basis, Shumeyko said.

He said that to carry out serious economic programs the government needs a well worked-out budget confirmed for the whole year, and decisions of the parliament on quarterly expenditure are not sufficient. At the same time Shumeyko admitted that the draft budget is far from complete.

### Reform 'Cannot Proceed Normally'

*MK1303103093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

[Interviews with Yeltsin aides Sergey Filatov and Vyacheslav Kostikov "Only for KURANTY" by Lidiya Lukyanova in Moscow on 12 March: "Their Aim Is To Impede Reforms"]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, chief of the Russian Federation president's administration:

The Congress has done all in its power to sustain the confrontation between the two branches. One thing needs to be understood—underlying the confrontation are different attitudes to the economic reform.

By its decision the Congress has created conditions whereby economic reform cannot proceed normally. The state cannot carry out a major economic reform without the consent of society, and this needs to be understood. Restricting the president's powers and even stripping him of many powers, as the Congress voted to do, will negatively affect the strength of our state—Russia. This most severe consequence we shall feel very soon. I see a purely political rationale here. The large procommunist Russian Unity bloc is hungry for power and is trying to attain it by constitutional means. It, however, can attain power only by stealth, because the bloc still does not have enough votes in the Congress. This is the tactic they have chosen: step by step to deprive the president of the possibility of pursuing economic reform and to put obstacles in its way. The aim is to bring the population to the point of explosion and to take power on the crest of that wave. This aim is absolutely clear to me.

Vyacheslav Kostikov, president's press secretary: The president said that the Congress has failed to be an interlocutor. The only interlocutor that I have left is the people, and I shall appeal to them.

## Congress 'Usurpation' of Power Noted

*MK1303120893 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

["Answers to questions" by three deputies, recorded by Lidiya Lukyanova, in Moscow; date not given: "Thrown Back"]

[Text] [Question] What are the likely consequences if the usurpation of power by the Congress actually happens? Is there an exit from the communist blind alley into which the Congress is creeping? These questions are answered by people's deputies:

Marina Salye:

"There is only one way of out this situation—the holding of a national referendum. Two questions should be put to it: Who should adopt the Constitution (the Congress should not adopt it); and whether there is to be private ownership of land. I hope that people will support the president in that."

Petr Filippov:

"A usurpation of power by the Congress means giving up trying to stop the growth in prices which devalues our savings and pay. It means giving up the transfer of land and property from the hands of departmental bureaucrats and the nomenklatura into the hands of citizens. It means giving up the attempt by the people of Russia [rossiyane] to secure a decent life for themselves. It means turning back."

Galina Starovoytova:

"For those who started the struggle for democracy in the late 1980's, dark days are here again. I realize that everything will have to be started over again and that the starting conditions now are much harder. The people are tired of politics, exhausted by difficulties of economic reform. And yet I believe that the democratic idea is not dead among the people. I call on them to rally around the forces that are continuing reform, around the idea of the people's right to choose the way they want to live in the future."

## Communists 'Happy' With Outcome

*LD1303141693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1005 GMT 13 Mar 93*

["Communists are Happy with the Way the Congress Went, "Democratic Russia" is Unhappy, Local Leaders are Indifferent"—ITAR-TASS headline; by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar—Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, regards the resolution of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies on constitutional reform, adopted on 12 March, as a "victory for common sense." "The government acquired legitimate backing and the right of legislative initiative. It also obtained the powerful levers that are the State Bank, various foundations, the State Committee for Statistics and so on," he pointed out in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. As for the balance of power, he thinks "the president remains as he was: the head of the executive; everything that was given to Chernomyrdin as prime minister is also under Yeltsin's control, so his powers have not been reduced at all."

On the other hand, Gennadiy Zyuganov noted, the "unfrozen" articles of the Constitution "strengthen the legislature's control over the executive, but that is a perfectly natural feature of a law-governed democratic state. [quotation marks as received]

The "Democratic Russia" parliamentary fraction is urging Ruslan Khasbulatov, parliament's chairman, to use his last chance to convince the deputies to accept the president's proposal on the holding of the referendum, although, as Gleb Yakunin, a member of the fraction, thinks, "it is hard to bank on agreement between the powers after what happened at the Congress the day before." The Congress is behaving aggressively, having declared "war" on the president. The political strike that the miners have begun shows, in the deputy's view, that "the people back the president." If it proves impossible to reach agreement at the Congress, it is likely that other workers' collectives will be urged to join in a political strike.

People's Deputy Albert Krivchenko, the administrative head in Amur Oblast, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the Congress "has become degraded once and for all and has demonstrated its inability to do anything good." Most deputies open attacked the president and the executive in general. So "it only remains for us, guided by the Constitution and the law, to work to extricate the economy of the regions and, of course, of Russia as a whole from crisis," he considers. "It is not worth paying attention to the political gimmicks and the show staged at the Kremlin Palace."

## Repeal of Conciliation Decree Viewed

*PM1503122393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

[Article by Lyubov Tsukanova: "December in Mid-March"]

[Text] Point two of the decree of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies has repealed the previous Congress' 12 December 1992 conciliation decree. The president's legislative initiative to exclude this point as a last attempt, as he said in his speech, to preserve the fragile agreement reached in December. The repeal of the resolution "on the stabilization of the Russian Federation's constitutional system," in the president's opinion, definitively upsets the shaky balance of the branches of power retained until now.

The president's proposal was rejected, and the December agreement, by a decision of the extraordinary congress, has lost its force. What does that mean in practice? First and foremost, the repeal of the 11 April 1993 referendum on the main provisions of the future Russian constitution. Having given the people the right to express their will, exactly three months later the Congress has taken that right away. This decision is entirely consistent with the principle of the activity of our representative assembly based on omnipotence but how to assess it from the viewpoint of political and human morality?

With the repeal of the December agreement, the odious amendments adopted by the seventh congress to articles 109, 110, and 121-6 of the existing constitution enter into force, drastically disrupting the balance of power. The Supreme Soviet receives the right to suspend edicts and decrees of the Russian Federation president before their examination in the Constitutional Court. It is not only that it is not even the Congress but the Supreme Soviet that is becoming "more important" than the president but that, as political scientist Andranik Migranyan noted in the corridors, under the conditions of confrontation between the president and parliament, the president's activity can (particularly if you consider the pace at which the Constitutional Court works) be paralyzed. If you consider that the provision of Article 110 granting the right of legislative initiative to the Council of Ministers enters into force simultaneously, then the president's activity is made substantially more difficult.

Particularly scandalous is the amendment to article 121-6 adopted by the Seventh Congress in an atmosphere of keen confrontation with the president, on a wave of emotional imbalance—"on the immediate cessation" of the president's powers if he tries to suspend the Congress' activity. Commenting on this amendment, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray said that the existing Constitution already provides enough guarantees against tyranny in this sphere: A number of articles stipulate that the president's powers cannot be used by him to halt the activity of the supreme representative organ, not to mention the fact that the president has repeatedly stated in public (including in his speech at the Congress yesterday) that he has no intention of undertaking any actions to disband the Congress and will operate strictly within the framework of the Constitution. In addition the amendment is legally incorrect: Such norms cannot operate automatically.

One of the main negative results of the Congress, Sergey Shakhray believes, is the fact that the powers at federal level have failed to reach agreement, and that means that "Russia has become a little bit weaker still." The vice premier voiced the fear that the main trend of reforms could end at the Eighth Congress. The task is not to cross the threshold beyond which lie unforeseen events, popular uprisings, and revolutions.

Yesterday the president stated that he has left "an extremely small range of means" of retaining the stability of the situation. In Sergey Shakhray's opinion the president has two legitimate levers left to continue the reforms he has begun: They are a referendum and early elections. "It is better to go to the ballot boxes than to go out onto the streets."

The Congress tried to extend the winter of confrontation. The rejection of its own decisions, the virtual return to the 10 December situation, and the president's appeal to the people, "frozen" by the repeal of the 12 December decree, mean that all appeals to the Congress to be aware of its responsibility for the stability of power in the country have remained unanswered.

## Tatarstan Premier on Referendum

*MK1303110693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 1*

[Radik Batyrshin report on interview with Tatarstan Prime Minister Mukhammat Sabirov; place and date of interview not given; carried under general headline "Congress Strips Russian President of Virtually All Powers as Head of Executive Branch"]

[Text] "Today it became clear that a referendum must be held," Mukhammat Sabirov, Tatarstan prime minister and Russian Federation people's deputy, stated in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. According to him, "it is possible that a Congress decree on the referendum will enable the situation in Russia to be stabilized." At the same time the head of the Tatarstan Government stressed that "11 April is not the time for a plebiscite." Sabirov considers this fall to be an acceptable time to hold it, when "harvesting will have finished and there will be more stability in granaries, minds, and stomachs." The Tatarstan prime minister named mid-1994 as the most favorable time to hold a referendum. In his opinion, by this time a normative base for the "civilized holding of a plebiscite" will have been prepared.

Sabirov does not doubt that his opinion is shared by most regional leaders. He attributed the failure of most people's deputies at the Congress to adopt the president's amendments to the fact that "Boris Yeltsin's entourage did not put the best proposals to him." The Tatarstan prime minister condemned the Russian Federation president's demonstrative departure from the Congress session, "because it is necessary to have the courage to endure the most unpleasant reproaches from deputies, who have also been elected by the people." Sabirov sees the reason for the crisis as being that "people start reading the Russian Federation Constitution only when a certain point in it is at the center of a conflict." In his opinion the constitution must be a "handbook for every citizen and especially for the state's leaders."

Yesterday AP disseminated information that, in a telephone conversation with Bill Clinton, Yeltsin mentioned the extreme measure of disbanding parliament. Sabirov believes that "this must not be permitted, because such a step will lead to wholesale destabilization and a great calamity for the people."

Why did the regions change their attitude toward the referendum within 24 hours? Possibly the reason is that the Congress, by rejecting the president's amendments and most of the regional chiefs' proposals, proved that a compromise is impossible. And because of their assumed role of eternal intermediary between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, the provinces decided to support the referendum, thereby postponing the apogee of confrontation for an indeterminate period.

The third day of the Congress proved that even the combined efforts of the president and the regions are incapable of overcoming the deputies' intransigence.

## Statements, Discussion on Congress Outcome 14 Mar

### 'Roundtable' on Results

*LD1403174693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1220 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Roundtable discussion and phone-in program hosted by anchorman Anatoliy Skryabin; from the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Text] [Skryabin] Good day, esteemed viewers. I think that it will be only logical for our live dialogue to be devoted today to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation which ended yesterday.

Let me introduce to you the participants in today's roundtable: They are Anatoliy Yakovlevich Sliva, deputy head of the state legal administration and representative of the president of our republic in the Supreme Soviet; People's Deputy Viktor Ilyich Zorkaltsev who represents the Communists of Russia faction; and Vladimir Nikolayevich Podoprigora, who represents the Consensus for the Sake of Progress faction. On my left is Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and sitting next to him is Mikhail Mikhailovich Molostvov who represents the Radical Democrats faction.

We have 40 minutes of air time, and I am taking the bull by the horns straight away, but before that I should remind our viewers that we will keep the open multichannel telephone line here in our Moscow Ostankino studio, and the number is 095-2174563. You will see it on your screen in a moment.

First question. The Congress of People's Deputies is over. Some results have been recognized. A resolution was adopted. In your opinion, what was the most important, what was the success of the congress, and what was the failure of the congress? Perhaps, if I may, could you start, Viktor Ilyich?

[Zorkaltsev] If you don't mind. All previous congresses differed from each other, and this congress is different from the previous ones in many ways. First of all, it was dynamic, compact, and I would say it produced results in terms of its decisions. The question posed in the media at present is: Who won at the congress? Who came the winner out of the situation? In my view, and this was a distinguishing feature of the congress, the constitution was the winner at the congress. An agreement was reached not on the basis of some conciliatory documents and treaties but on the basis of the constitution. That was the first. The second, to which I would like to draw the attention of viewers, was the fact that as a result of the decisions taken, executive power was considerably strengthened. At present the Council of Ministers, our government, is provided with all the powers, in my opinion, needed to solve the problems which need to be solved in order to take the economy out of a crisis. The congress gave these powers to the government and, perhaps, to a certain degree (?restricted) the powers of the Supreme Soviet and the president, but I would like to stress this again—among others, it was done on the president's request. Strengthening executive power, strengthening the government's role at this particular stage, in my opinion, was an encouraging factor.

What put me on my guard, what gave rise to some suspicion and dissatisfaction was that some new structures have appeared which affect or increasingly try to affect the working out of decisions. These are the structures like the Council of Heads of Administrations, or the Council of Regions' Leaders, or the Council of Republics. If these processes develop, in my opinion, there might appear some hidden reefs there which would be very difficult for us to overcome in future. I would like to remind you what happened at the last USSR congress of people's deputies when heads of republics, who practically took the leadership of the congress into their hands, brought about the breakdown of the congress. This gives rise to concern.

[Skryabin] Thank you, Viktor Ilyich. We will return to the question you have raised. Mikhail Mikhailovich, please, maybe you—I would only ask all the participants, taking into account the fact that we don't have a lot of time, if they could be briefer.

[Molovtsov] I believe that nevertheless the best thing about the Congress was that it has concluded, ended. I cannot, so to speak, share the optimism of my esteemed colleague. Maybe because we stand at opposite poles of in the political appraisal of events, and we view the congress in different ways. For me the speed and the radical nature of the economic reforms being carried out are vital and important. I think that the congress which has ended has not accelerated this process. Although you are right, the government has received a certain independence. At the same time I was extremely concerned by the additional instructions to the Supreme Soviet—to investigate the mass media, to investigate Chubays, to investigate the foreign minister. This arouses a certain disquiet in me. I must say that if the constitution was victorious at the congress, as you said, then nevertheless the constitution is contradictory. My esteemed colleague Ryabov said in his report that the contradiction is external, but I fear that it is an internal contradiction. A contradiction in our movement from the totalitarian regime to a genuinely democratic, market society.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Maybe you would like to speak.

[Podoprigora] I think that no one won at this Congress, but that society as a whole lost. There are, of course, some positive factors which my colleagues, Viktor Ilyich and Mikhail Mikhailovich, have mentioned, that at the request of the president, the congress adopted decisions giving additional powers to the government, but as a whole the congress, as a guarantor of preserving the integrity of Russia, in the eyes of society lost even more. The fact that it gave powers to the government is a gain that is incommensurate with the loss which took place. This constant appealing to the subjects of the Russian Federation, when the heads of administrations and chairmen of soviets spoke, moreover if heads of administrations appear as individual representatives of executive authority, they have the right to their own opinion, then representatives of the soviets, chairmen of the soviets, should have appealed to the appropriate decisions of their soviets, and only after that should they have spoken at the congress podium and made statements there. [sentence as heard] Once again this demonstrated to us the dictatorship of the representative bodies of authority. This hierarchy is constructed by our present constitution, which I greatly respect, but unfortunately this situation when there is the congress, the Supreme Soviet, there is the presidium and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, this hierarchy which allows a single individual, the chairman of some soviet, to speak on behalf of the whole Supreme Soviet of his own oblast soviet, this once again demonstrates the whole fallaciousness of our soviet system.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Anatoliy Yakovlevich, if you please.

[Sliva] In my opinion, it seems too early and rather difficult to assess such a major, out of the ordinary, event in political life as the eighth extraordinary congress only 24 hours after it ended. Moreover, we, you and I, are the witnesses of how a plus sign transfers into a minus sign in a very short time—three months. I would like to remind you that the resolution on the stabilization of the constitutional system was adopted just three months ago and all the comments on the following days were only with the plus sign. But the eighth congress recognized this resolution as null and void. That is why it seems premature to make conclusions as to its possible consequences; there are many reasons for doubts and, indeed, according to what the president was reported as stating by the media yesterday, one needs to reflect profoundly and weigh everything up before making any categorical conclusions in assessing this event.

[Skryabin] Thank you. [addressing Ryabov] Over to you.

[Ryabov] Andrey Georgiyevich, I would try to be very brief, bearing in mind what my colleagues have already said. First of all, our people should be told that the result of the congress' work was the recognition of the inexpediency of holding the referendum on 11 April, that is, the nationwide referendum on the main clauses of the draft of the new constitution on 11 April will not be held. Why? Immediately the question arises: Why are the people deprived of a chance to express their will? It is not depriving the people of the chance to express their will that is under discussion. What is under discussion is the fact that the state, in the person of its central power bodies and the subjects of the federation, is not ready to hold this referendum. To turn it into a profanation, to turn it from an instrument of creation into an instrument of disintegration is inadmissible.

The second point, which is extremely important—and in this sense the congress was, perhaps, a turning point—for the first time it clearly stated that the period of appeasement, the period of emergency powers, in general, the period of emergencies should become history.

Our creative life in forming the market and market relations and building a law-governed and democratic state should be implemented in accordance with the existing constitution as well as the whole constitutional reform in general.

Third, and I am drawing special attention to this, there exists a problem of federative relations in the Russian Federation. The congress has set the Supreme Soviet and the executive in the person of the president, the government, and the subjects of the federation, specific tasks, to draw up and adopt in a short time a legal mechanism for implementing the federation treaty. This is a most complicated and most crucial issue in the present-day stage of the organizational development of Russian statehood, which, unfortunately, behind the political blather, discussions, and confrontations has all the time been receding into the background, but, nevertheless, has become no less necessary and crucial because of this. And the menacing, so to speak, symptoms which are occurring today in a number of regions of our country confirm the need for a thorough constitutionally solution to the legal mechanism.

Fourth, a fourth factor as to why the congress has positive results, lies in the fact—and my colleagues have talked about this; there was no renunciation, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers himself has confirmed this—that the executive power is receiving, within the framework, I stress, of the constitution, additional powers for its operational economic activity. This is the first thing, and, second, the Supreme Soviet has been instructed, jointly with the government, to draw up within the shortest possible time a mechanism for coordinating monetary and credit policy and running the Central Bank. Everyone knows the importance of this unsatisfactory situation regarding finances and clearing, so measures must be taken without delay, and the appropriate officials of banks and foundations are being introduced within the composition of the government. It has been frankly stated that we have handed over to the management of the government all issues of current state management of federal state property by economic services and coordination in carrying out anti-crisis programs in economic and social development. They can already start doing this, literally today, but apart from this, there exist a number of instructions which would further expand the possibilities of the government in the conditions of an unstable economic situation.

The main thing, the main result is that we have at last taken the constitutional road and have announced that further constitutional reform in the Russian Federation will be implemented only within the framework of the constitution. Thank you.

[Skryabin] I will permit myself, perhaps, to ask not very correct questions.

[Ryabov] Can you hand me the questions?

[Skryabin] Yes, I will hand over the questions to you afterwards. There are quite a number of questions which in some form or other have something in common with the following notion: That the president, in his address, so to speak, was striving for a consensus, while your report, esteemed Nikolay Timofeyevich, who is now sitting next to me, was of a fairly confrontational nature. How do you view such an assessment by television viewers of the positions of the two speakers, well, the main speakers. [addressing Molostvov] Go ahead.

[Molostvov] I'll try to tell. Nikolay Timofeyevich, there exists—all of us are people who get carried away. And, say, this is natural, not only for radical democrats. You even now say, you say: At last we have left political blather behind us. I hope that you have in mind not your own report three months ago and your report at this congress—after all, you have in mind the addresses by your opponents. You will agree that it is better not to use such terms. It is better never to say: Shelov—that Kovedyayev character, or something like that.

[Skryabin] He has already apologized.

[Molostvov] One must exercise restraint. Under the pressure of our esteemed Ruslan Imranovich, who has not apologized? Let me simply say: I feel that this is not due to any ill-will on your part, but that is what is happening: You start off at once about blather. After all, the viewers are watching and everyone is entitled, perhaps, to reproach all us of together on this blather, without distinction of ranks and persons. That is all I had to say, that is my riposte.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Ryabov] (?I cannot take the right) to teach others what to do, what to say and so forth. That's the difference between us. I'm trying to work and you are trying to teach others. [words indistinct, speakers talking simultaneously] Now about my report, about the substance of this matter. My report was confrontational with regard to the unconstitutional activities of the executive authority. The report itself, and the reports that I have made to the Supreme Soviet, said that all the gestures of goodwill on the president's part, the steps he made toward meeting the congress halfway, imply one thing: a further departure from the existing constitution, and the creation of agreements between the bodies of authority outside the constitution, above the constitution, which say that the existing constitution is supposedly not able to solve the problems of economic reform.

That was said not at this congress and not even at the previous one but long before that, when the president received additional extraordinary powers. The result of these powers is a deterioration of our society, of the economy, of the state of our society, relations between our countries and communities, and so on. So the fundamental conclusion is that we have to return to the constitution. And here my report pursued that sole aim. You can scrutinize it as a whole or in parts and so on. Second, Mikhail Mikhaylovich, I prefer honest dialogue to deceiving oneself at congress or onlookers.

When I said that referenda are not held in developed federal countries at federal level, then you should accept that and not say that I was misleading congress and that Germany held a referendum last year. It did, in the states, but not at federal level.

[Molostvov] I never said that.

[Ryabov] As far as the reservations I made are concerned, I simply forgot his surname. The conversation was relevant, I was analyzing this, and I forgot this double-barrelled surname. Sorry, but there's nothing to read into that. Why do you immediately home in on things like this, instead of where we go from here? That's as far as my report is concerned. Now about the president's proposals. Why did congress think it necessary to reject them? Take the last proposal for example, which was made to us on 12 March, asking the congress to include in two questions in the 11 April: Do the people of Russia agree with the republic's presidency, and do the people of Russia agree that Russian citizens should be entitled to use and dispose of land as proprietors of it?

At the congress it was a question of holding or not holding a referendum and all the arguments for and against were analyzed and weighed. It was clarified that the legislative foundation was not prepared at all for the holding of the referendum. Why? Because the decisions of the seventh congress went against the constitution. After all we are being told about the constitution. The law on the referendum was adopted as a once-and-for-all action to elect the president, you know. After that the federal treaty was adopted.

The law on the referendum does not in the least reflect the provisions of the federal treaty and there are questions of joint jurisdiction. These are questions exclusively of the jurisdiction of the republics. The question of land is a question under the jurisdiction of the republics. In their constitutions and in the constitution of the Russian Federation, it is stipulated that the right of ownership belongs to the peoples inhabiting a particular republic. It was not, therefore, permissible to speak in favor of it so easily and simply was not permissible. It is for this reason that these proposals run counter to the norms of the constitution and the congress turned them down, that is natural, and thus avoided real confrontation in society.

[Skryabin] I should like to introduce another point of view.

[Sliva] Well, 76 hours ...

[Skryabin] I should like to remind those taking part that our time is very limited.

[Sliva] Despite those 76 hours—such is the period which has passed in the history of the congress—if one analyzes the video and stenographic records of the congress, it would be hard to see no doubt a more peace-loving president than Yeltsin at any of the previous congresses who consistently agreed to dialogue, consistently called for consensus, and so on. No doubt it would be simply hard to see. One draft after the other in the course of all those three days. Yes, one after the other. Let's stick to the point, Nikolay Timofeyevich. Here is the last draft of the President with the proposal to provide an interpretation of Part 2, Article 104, the hardest article. An interpretation should be given, by a method acceptable in principle, difficult, but it should be acceptable at the congress. An interpretation should be given that that the congress has the right to decide everything that comes under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation apart from questions of the same constitution, which come under the jurisdiction of the executive and legislative authorities.

Indeed, however, the congress did not even start to examine this question, unfortunately. It simply did not start to examine it. A question of supreme principle, a key question, but the congress just avoids it. I shall not illustrate it with other examples. I would only like to mention the so-called additional powers of the president previously given by previous congresses.

However, let us speak soberly. What then are these powers of the president, if in issuing a decree on any matter—and this is how it was according to the decision of the fifth congress—he put it into the hands of the Supreme Soviet, and the decree could only come into operation with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet? These are no extraordinary powers and not even any additional powers either. It is simply an opportunity to act within, so to speak, this procedural and regulatory framework. The whole world is aware of the nature of other powers, delegated powers, for instance, which parliament gives a prime minister or a president for a specific period, saying that he may decide this on his own responsibility, but he himself would be accountable to parliament fot it. Unfortunately, we did not do that.

Another factor I should like to raise—the main issue of course was the referendum. This has been an historic congress. It is historic if only for the simple reason that it has interrupted—at least that is how I will put it—interrupted the decision to hold the referendum which had already been announced to the people. Yes, here we have subjects of the federation; yes, there is a need to coordinate; yes, a dangerous means of solving the question—and many more yes, yes, yes. I would like to say that the congress has been a historic one, because prior to the eighth congress there had been no instance throughout the world of scheduled and announced referenda being cancelled.

[Skryabin] I understand. Thank you. Now, before giving you the floor, I should like to draw your attention to the problem of the referendum. I realize that in principle viewers' questions can be maneuvered. A presenter can always do that. But all the same I have to tell you absolutely honestly that I have not one question from a viewer supporting the cancellation of the referendum. Let me just read you a few. Serova, Rostov oblast: How do the victors feel when before the eyes of the world they put themselves out and exploited the people's ignorance to deny them a chance to express their opinion in a referendum? [Skryabin holds a bunch of letters; he shuffles the letters, reading a few words from each.] Why have you not allowed us to express our own view? What right do you have to close the referendum on behalf of the people? The people demand a referendum. Who gave you permission to deprive the people of Russia of the referendum? Why don't—what right have you got to deprive me of participation in the referendum, and so on. Well, I see it like this. These are general questions.

[Ryabov] Well, I'll try to answer it.

[Skryabin] May I? Excuse me. If I may, I'll give the floor now, on the issue of the referendum, to you [points to Zorkaltsev], if you will allow me; and then we will come back to you [points to Ryabov]. So that we are talking one at a time. Go ahead, please.

[Zorkaltsev] Generally speaking, though the issue of the referendum was not of decisive importance at the congress—it ensued as a collateral issue from the first decision, yet in the past two days it seems to have acquired universal significance. Personally, I was very apprehensive about holding the referendum, and I believe that we failed to explain the possible consequences of the referendum well enough. Early elections or referenda have a certain explosive force, which can have a negative effect on our society. But I believe that in the end a referendum has to be held. Why, if we have already announced it, and if the people, or at least a section of the population, have made up their mind to express their will, or rather to take part in a referendum, then it has to be held. The question is, how to go about it. I believe that the president's last message to the Congress of People's Deputies showed that he too was concerned about the situation, and so he asked for the referendum to be postponed. Therefore the decision that was adopted, i.e. to deem it inexpedient to hold the referendum at this stage, may well resolve this problem. But I should think that later, when our legislation is brought into line with the federal treaty, it will be necessary to hold such a referendum. Here, I think, our respondents are right when they send here. [sentence as heard]

[Skryabin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have been silent for a long time.

[Podoprigora] Yes, I should like to say that the constitution allows the congress to call a referendum, but not to cancel it. And there is profound logic in this. After all, in accordance with Article 2 of the constitution, the power in Russia belongs to the people; and when two branches of power, the legislative and the executive, failed to reach agreement at the seventh congress, they turned to the people. The most we could do in the end, as the Supreme Soviet had not prepared itself in time to take a decision on holding the referendum, was to postpone the referendum, put it back for a period of six months or a year. But the congress had no right to cancel the referendum.

[Ryabov] Let us first determine whether the Russian Federation, you tell us honestly, was ready to hold the referendum on 11 April. You know the whole complexity of the legislative basis. You know how difficult it is to coordinate things. And you know that there was no legislative basis for coordinating them. Were we ready to hold the referendum, Nikolay Timofeyevich? Probably not. Hold on a minute. Now, second. Who has given you the right to cancel the referendum? Here I have in my hands the decisions taken by soviets, and roundtables, addresses by republics which I can read out to you. We are obliged to call the congress even if it is demanded by just one republic. For instance, take the Krasnodar soviet. [reading from paper] Relying on the opinion of the broad public, (?14) city and 33 rayon soviets sent to the kray soviet a letter asking it to use its right of legislative initiative and to propose to the Supreme Soviet that it cancel the nationwide referendum scheduled for 11 April.

Here are the papers. You all know their contents. Now as to the cancellation. Read for yourselves what the congress has done. The congress, to put it briefly, issued an instruction to work out and to agree the questions of the main provisions of the draft constitution with the component parts of the federation, and after these questions are agreed, I quote, to consider the deadlines for the referendum on the main provisions of the new draft constitution, after point three is fulfilled—the point connected with the mechanism for agreeing these issues here at the level of the central power and at the level of the subjects of the federation.

In other words, to say that the congress has deprived the people of the right to a referendum in general, and particularly the right to a referendum on the basic clauses of a new constitution, that is unjust, or at least it is dishonest. Study the decision of the congress and you will see that it says that in the present socioeconomic conditions, taking account of the legislative basis, to hold a referendum, many people believe, could entail negative consequences.

[Skryabin] Your position is clear, Nikolay Timofeyevich. Mikhail Mikhailovich, (?you have a minute and a half).

[Molostvov] Well, I think that Nikolay Timofeyevich has convincingly explained to us why it is undesirable to hold a referendum right now. Just as he convincingly told us three months ago that we do need to hold a referendum. What can one say? People change, their views change, circumstances change, and this can be a good thing. But it's a bad thing when someone in a certain post begins to think that he is the only one working while everyone else is pursuing political squabbles. In that kind of situation it's very difficult to hold a political debate.

[Skryabin] I should give you the right to reply.

[Molostvov] Of course.

[Ryabov] Mikhail Mikhaylovich, it was not you I was talking about, and I was not saying it to you. I was talking about the reasons why a referendum, a real referendum, is not possible. And that's all.

[Molostvov] Alright. It's not you personally I was complaining about ...

[Skryabin, interrupting] Sorry, but we don't have much time left, and I should like to move on to another issue that has kept cropping up during this discussion [words indistinct]. Do you think that such active involvement by the autonomous entities and their opinions at congress has a slight whiff about it of the congress turning itself into some kind of professional organization? Congress is, after all, the congress of people's deputies. And when we start appealing to the autonomies' viewpoint then I, for example, as a voter start worrying because the autonomies can be appealed to or pressurized by either the president or the Supreme Soviet. I should like to come back to this if we can.

[Podprigora] I think that this practice is unlawful, and unless we stop it immediately then congress and Russia will follow in the footsteps of the USSR congress and the USSR.

[Zorkaltsev] I spoke about that in my first comments and would like to stress that congress must not adopt this practice. There are 1,068 deputies and they can organize themselves into factions, groups, according to profession or whatever, and express their views on behalf of such organizations. But this kind of external pressure on decisionmaking could have grievous consequences for both congress and society.

[Ryabov] Andrey, I would put it as follows, that on the whole this already exists with the problem of lobbying. We are now preparing very seriously for adopting, for drawing up and adopting a law on lobbying. It may manifest itself in the most varied forms. In May we will prepare, we are now preparing and we will be holding an international conference on the problems of lobbying and I agree with my colleagues that all this needs to be brought within a legal framework, otherwise anything goes.

[Molostvov] This is how I would put it. You know, we are saying: subject of the federation. I would find it more pleasant to say: Chairman of Lensovet or of Petrosovet, citizen Belyayev. He affixes his signature, and from a private person suddenly turns into a subject of the federation, not having consulted, say, as I learned, either with the malyy sovet or with the session of Petrosovet. Indeed, he had no opportunity to do so. He arrived to affix his signature. I am afraid that many so-called subjects of the Federation—I think that this is a legal term which is precisely applicable to peoples and not to power structures. What does subject mean? On the whole, calling even a high-ranking official a subject is not very nice.

[Skryabin] You know, I will tell you as follows, that I too believe this: It is not possible each time to consult with those who have elected you because then it would impossible to work, then you would continuously be consulting.

[Sliva] I am absolutely in agreement with you that you cannot do enough consulting, but there is the situation, there is the situation regarding the referendum. In the run-up to the Eighth Congress, invoking the fact that so many subjects of the federation are opposing and referring to some letters of some kind, from some one or other, is something one should not do. In this case, acting on behalf of the subject of the federation—such is the constitutional norm—is the appropriate soviet of people's deputies. Hence, the decision on this issue should be the decision of the soviet - precisely the decision.

So how many, Nikolay Timofeyevich—there are probably some 90 subjects of the federation; this is what we are talking about. But the decisions of the soviets—I repeat—with a very small exception, as far as I know, were not submitted to the participants in the congress, the people's deputies. This is a question of principle. This is the moment, the instance when it was necessary to consult in a legally significant way, you understand, in this respect. It is necessary to provide a legislative basis for the process of taking into account the views of the subjects of the federation, of getting their agreement. After all, this is a matter for the Supreme Soviet. It had three months for this, just as for introducing amendments to the law on referendum, naturally, you understand.

That is why, I would like to say—I am finishing, understanding that time is limited—that the decision adopted by the Congress on measures to implement the constitutional reform—the section concerning the subjects of the federation and regarding the actual cancellation of the planned referendum—gives rise to very great doubts about whether it is constitutional. This was declared by a group of deputies at the congress. I believe that the President may also be interested on this score. At least, the appropriate application to the Constitutional Court about this has been drawn up, and this will be submitted to the president of the Russian Federation.

[Skryabin] I am sorry ...

[Ryabov, interrupting] Anatoliy Yakovlevich, I am sorry. I have read to you one decision. Now here is another one, I can show it. [reading from paper] The resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Karelia. In the present situation, it is considered inexpedient to hold a referendum. Signed, Petrozavodsk, 19 February 1993, 1016/480, and signatures. So that is right. But I would like to tell you that no one need reproach the Supreme Soviet for having to go through a huge amount of work in just three months. No way could it do it! It concerns preparing for a referendum, even working out a legislative basis. You failed to find time, with three months in hand, to put on the agenda, at the start of the congress, a proposal on how to interpret Part two of Article 104. You moved it on the final day, before the closure of the congress.

[Skryabin] Thank you. I think I understand the position of the representatives of the Supreme Soviet and the president, and now, as we have already touched upon the issue of the Constitutional Court—and now we have very little time left—let me say a few words too. What I am about to say may sound rather harsh, much as I respect this institution and the people who work there, who have been elected to it. Do you not sometimes get the impression that, speaking of the Constitutional Court, that it, well, I would not say it does not play the part envisaged for it in the constitution and all the other documents, but does it not engage to some extent in playing politics? Do you not get this impression? I hope members of the Constitutional Court will forgive me for saying this. So, Mikhail Mikhaylovich, would you please answer this?

[Molostvov] I believe that, as the honorable gentleman next to me is not quite a spokesman for the Supreme Soviet—for he is here as a private individual, the same goes for Zorkin. When expressing his personal point of view as a citizen, he cannot speak on behalf of the Constitutional Court as a whole. He did actually try to say something to this effect. But I believe that when the chairman of the Constitutional Court acted as a peace broker, as it were, that was fine. But I agree with you. I would very much like to see a Constitutional Court whose members are not politicians.

[Skryabin] Thank you.

[Zorkaltsev] I believe that in the present situation, the situation we are facing now, the Constitutional Court is precisely the guarantor of relations between the representative and the executive power, and it does perform this role, as far as I can see.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Now the final question. It will be a kind of quick poll. Please say what each of you regards as the most important thing now, after the Congress has ended, what is the most important thing that should be done now? In turn, please, 10 seconds each.

[Sliva] Well, the most important thing is that we should not break away from the course that we have chosen for the implementation of the economic reform, combining it daily, and simultaneously comnnecting it, with the political reform, the constitutional reform.

[Zorkaltsev] Well, if do not want to break away from that course of economic reform, we must sustain a political pause, and the longer it is, the more successful the reforms will be.

[Podoprigora] The most important thing is not to implement that part of the address that the congress adopted where it is written that the economic reform has not succeeded, and for that reason it should be dropped. It should be implemented. We have often started many things in Russia and never brought them to conclusion.

[Skryabin] Mikhail Mikhailovich.

[Molostvov] In my opinion, the main thing now is not to strangle Glasnost.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Nikolay Timofeyevich.

[Ryabov] People must work, people must work, and we must ensure a stable political situation in society. That's all.

[Skryabin] Thank you, I thank all the participants. Our 42 minutes are up already. Thank you, comrade television viewers. I must say that the questions that I give the participants of our meeting today—and a lot of them have been answered, not specifically, so to speak, but I have combined a number of them in the questions that I asked. Thank you, and good bye.

### Yeltsin Criticizes Parliament

*LD1503094293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Mar 93*

["Statement by the Press Secretary of the President of the Russian Federation;" issued in Moscow on 15 March]

[Text] The results of the work of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies inspires profound misgivings. The Congress rejected the possibilty of an agreed solution of the constitutional crisis. Its decisions have seriously exacerbated the imbalance of powers and threatened the state system and order in our country. By denying the people the right to express its will by means of a referendum, the Congress took the path of violating the Constitution and of direct confrontation with the legally elected president of Russia.

The appeals adopted by the Congress represent an attempt to mislead public opinion and deceive the people of Russia. The threats voiced at the Congress against the president and ministers of the government, and the openly demonstrated intention to seize television, radio, and other mass news media reveal the true aims of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, which rigidly orchestrated the entire course of the Congress.

This is an attempt to concentrate power entirely in the hands of the Soviets; to hand the reigns of government back to the Communist nomenklatura; to claw back the democratic gains of August 1991. The concluding remarks of Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov amount in effect to a call for the soviets to seize power in the center and in the localities.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin is deeply concerned about the threat which hangs over democracy and reform. The president is receiving numerous communications from the regions of Russia; from enterprises and public organizations; and from individual citizens, urging him to defend democracy and stop the Communist restoration.

The president is studying the extent of the political damage which the Congress has inflicted upon the constitutional system of the Russian Federation. His general assessments and decisions will be made public in the next days.

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin 15 March 1993

## Political Issues

### Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Political Situation

*LD1303000393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2030 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Interview with Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin by correspondent Bella Kurkova on 11 March in Moscow White House conference hall; from the "On Political Olympus" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kurkova] We recorded this program late at night after the second day of the Congress. The third day brought many changes. But now let us go back to the evening of 11 March. [passage omitted] Viktor Stepanovich, let us remember the final day of the previous Seventh Congress when the president nominated you and you got the top rating. The deputies showed considerable trust in you. Were you surprised? What were your feelings?

[Chernomyrdin] It is a difficult question, one I have been asked many times. [passage omitted] It was clear to me even then that the country was in a most difficult condition and, unfortunately, the negative processes were on the increase. Therefore, I was not particularly pleased with this appointment. [passage omitted] I am grateful to many people. I get many letters, a lot of suggestions, some of them very unexpected and often quite interesting. It is bad though that people who ought to be seeing me do not come.

[Kurkova] Who are they?

[Chernomyrdin] The people who hold power and those in charge of major posts in the national economy. Unfortunately, at the moment they surprise me most—I get the impression that they are satisfied with this situation. Not all of them, but some are satisfied. [passage omitted] When we wonder today what is going on. A very simple thing: we have destroyed the top structures, we have stopped managing state property, but the state still owns 95 percent, and property has to be managed anyway, whether there is 95, 51, or 20 percent left—all of it will need managing. At any rate, we are talking today not of running but of regulating the use of this property. [passage omitted]

We had no right to let production rates drop so drastically. We cannot implement reforms if there is no production. It would be simply unnatural. Look, today is the second day of the Congress, and no one has yet spoken about production. [passage omitted]

It is a paradox. In the media we are dividing things up, constantly accusing someone. The Congress is going on today. The country is in the most onerous situation, and again...[changes thought] Why did I request...[changes thought] I thought nonetheless that we had somehow to steer things along their course, somehow, and show everything.

[Kurkova] Incidentally, you introduced a calm note because you started talking not on the subject which you were being pushed toward, but indeed you advanced all the issues which concern you. After all, everyone listened to you.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, they listened because—in actual fact I did not intend thinking anything up. Of course, it would have been difficult...[Chernomyrdin changes thought] You understand, I sensed intuitively, I had a gut feeling, that they wanted something, expected something from me. I had to do something so that the whole country would start saying that Chernomyrdin is now beginning to cook something up [zakruchivat]. Yes, we are undertaking this and that, but today it is a question of—it is these measures again, drastic ones, which I am against.

[Kurkova] Cooking things up, you mean?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes. We have already gone through cooking things up. Incidentally, I can do that, so that people don't say that Chernomyrdin—never mind. I've gone through all that. Its exactly this that my career has always been connected with. I can cook things up and I can ask things. For me this is the simplest option there is. Perhaps it's precisely here where it is harder for me in this respect.

[Kurkova] To restrain yourself, is that it?

[Chernomyrdin] Yes. I was pursuing a different line today. We have to set up a system which would make it possible to put everyone in circumstances where they need to get involved in production, to produce. The market—we talk about a market economy. Today we talk about economic reform, about economic reforms. We say that we have to prepare our economy, our national economy, for operation under market conditions. Of course, it is starting here, but we have a long way to go to a market economy. Then, what does market economy mean? We have all gone crazy. Sorry about that word, but a market economy is not a panacea. Throughout the century, look how many countries around us have essentially always lived in a market economy and look how much poverty they have. Look how much misfortune people suffer. They are in a market economy. A market economy means primarily work. Therefore, to set up conditions to enter a market economy is to [word indistinct] system which makes it possible to work.

Today it is not a question, [pauses] today we say that, pauses: I will give you an example: The following issue. The Congress is going on: builders, good people. I know many of them. I understand that the leaders are suffering. Speaking from memory, last year volumes of production fell to approximately 30 percent. Of course, there is no investment, no money. As a rule enterprises have not thought of investing. The state has completely turned away from this matter, and they say that they have made cuts of only 6 percent—6.8 percent. Some people consider that this is an achievement. I also, as a leader, understand. People expect something. Something has to happen tomorrow, and they are trying to preserve the workforce. Yes. This is quite right. Yes, we must not lose the construction industry. It is much too important and expensive for us. We are such a country; no one will build anything for us. Do we need to import someone else and hire them to build for us here? But at the same time, we have lost so much. We have lost volumes and we are not losing anyone, and haven't done anything else, therefore how are we living? We are reduced to beggary. I understand; if we found new jobs today, if we opened new factories, and we transferred these people and gave them jobs so that they produced something. Then I understand this, but if we simply just hold on to all this and not produce anything, or produce less and less...[Chernomyrdin changes thought] We have to pay, we have to live, and life is getting more expensive. What sort of a policy is that?

[Kurkova] And all the time wages are demanded.

[Chernomyrdin] Of course. You can't get away from it. Precisely. We say that we have to fill the basket. It is poverty stricken, but it is being reduced. This is happening. So this is necessary. Until we arrive at the stage where each of us values his job, fears, holds on to that job—this is what we need. Then the question immediately arises: What about unemployment?

[Kurkova] Viktor Stepanovich, here is another question for you. Could you tell us, albeit you were deputy chairman, you have not worked with this government all that long. You did not put together this team. Nevertheless, it so happens as it were that it is easier to work with people who think along the same lines as you, and it is easier to work with a team. So how did you find it—after all, the team was not put together by you?

[Chernomyrdin] [passage omitted] What can I say? The people who wanted to go have already left. From what I understand those who are working are working well. I will be honest with you, I do not hold anyone back; I have never held anyone back. I have always understood that people leave, not because I want or do not want, it might be that some of them want to work with me and some of them do not.

[Kurkova] It is a normal occurence.

[Chernomyrdin] A normal occurence indeed. Those who wanted to go straight away left immediately. Now the thing is—this has always been my principle, and as long as I stay the way I am I will adhere to this principle—Chernomyrdin of course is generally responsible for everything. As long as I am the head of government, I am responsible. All those who should work and work with me, they of course have to do what Chernomyrdin is doing; let's put it this way. [passage omitted]

We are working. Naturally we are making a lot of collective decisions. I do not think today, I cannot say that we do not make any mistakes; we possibly make various mistakes in different spheres.

[Kurkova] It is not possible without mistakes.

[Chernomyrdin] It is on the contrary—I decided not to talk about it today—the situation is paradoxical. I am asking for more work, for more work to be given to the government. I am asking for all the work to be given to the government. I am saying entrust it all to the Government, and then demand it from the government. The government, which is allowed to do one thing and not to do another, cannot work. It is first shifted to the right then to the left. This is not possible.

[Kurkova] Shifted by a Supreme Soviet team?

[Chernomyrdin] By anyone. It should not be like this at all. There has to be a government responsible for everything. It is not possible to have a semi-government in a country like this, shall we say. It is just not possible. That is why I am asking them, and all they say is: what for, why, and would you not rather we did this or that for you. There are people now saying: Why all this, we can cooperate. One must cooperate with the government. You have to cooperate with the government, but one person in the country has to lead.

[Kurkova] There has to be a boss.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, all the rest...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Just as in anything, a boss.

[Chernomyrdin] We work for the president; that is natural. We also work for the Supreme Soviet. However, I think there is an ocean of questions for the Supreme Soviet and for all the other bodies, but there are questions which nobody other than the government can work on. [passage omitted]

[Kurkova] Another question. Please tell me how you and the government feel whereby a permanent situation of suspense is created, when from Congress to Congress the question is decided of what state the government should be in, what lead the Supreme Soviet should hold it on, who to take it away from, who to give it to? It is probably purely psychologically very difficult to work. It's probably very difficult for you as a leader to keep your ministers happy. How do you get over that?

[Chernomyrdin] I get over it. However difficult it may be, I get over it.

[Kurkova] Well, how do you do it?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, even two words aren't, in words, a word. You cannot say it in two words, but I want to say once again that I think we have already passed the sort of basic period when we were being pestered. In the interests of fairness I have to...

[Kurkova, interrupting] What about today at the Congress?

[Chernomyrdin] Well, that's the Congress. The Congress is that kind of level.

[Kurkova] But the Congress can gather in April.

[Chernomyrdin] Well yes, maybe in April, but the Congress is the Congress. In theory once more you can say that we have already pestered very painfully, as they say. That was before; no, I can't say it about myself, maybe about the ministers, not so often now...

[Kurkova, interrupting] Does the president also not pester people?

[Chernomyrdin] The president? The president? The president is the president after all. But I can say that the president fortunately doesn't watch over us too closely. He trusts me absolutely as a leader. I don't feel constrained. I simply don't know how to make it; they don't pester me. We meet; when I have to I phone. I have to do that over big or complicated questions. I take advice, but the president has absolute trust in me over everything. I cannot say. It's simply that on this account I feel that I have been very lucky. [passage omitted]

[Kurkova] Imagine this situation. This document which was presented to us for examination today [11 March], which we didn't discuss after all, after all the discussion in the Commission, let's imagine that tomorrow this situation arises: the president is deprived of the powers he has as leader of the government among other things, and remains a simply representative figure. So, just as one of the deputies at one of the recent sittings of the Supreme Soviet said, let him just award decorations, like Podgornyy. The government is subordinate to the Supreme Soviet according to a Congress decision. What would happen in this case?

[Chernomyrdin] I think, let's say it this way, that won't happen.

[Kurkova] I'm afraid it might happen.

[Chernomyrdin] No. No. It won't happen, it won't; it shouldn't happen. Once again, it's not the right time and not the right circumstances to come to that now. I simply, well it can't happen. I hope everything will be all right. I think we all have to draw certain conclusions from these conversations, but not do it today.

[Kurkova] And if it happens?

[Chernomyrdin] I...

[Kurkova, interrupting] I'll cut this if it happens. All the same, an honest answer. What will you do?

[Chernomyrdin] It's a complicated question. I can say honestly without even thinking. I know that it won't happen. [passage omitted] What has changed? Basically everything has changed in life, essentially everything has changed in my life, in life. It's changed into what—life has only turned into work. I'm not complaining about that; no, that's not what this is about. [passage omitted]

Today we have to straighten out the situation. It is still not too late. Today it is still not too late.

[Kurkova] It could be too late tomorrow.

[Chernomyrdin] It could be. Yes. Absolutely.

### Spokesman Cites Kozyrev on Referendum, Global Commitments

*OW1203152393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents A. Borodin, D. Voskoboynikov, I. Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] No one has the right to rob the Russian people of the opportunity to speak out on key issues of their lives. Such is the opinion of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, according to a statement made at a briefing Friday [12 March] in Moscow by Sergey Yastrzhembskiy, director of the Foreign Ministry's Department of Press and Information.

He said the minister believes that "the state structures of the Russian Federation did not fulfill their duties in organizing the referendum, and the mechanism for its preparations has already been neglected." Kozyrev is convinced that "the law has no reverse effect, and the resolution adopted earlier at the 7th Congress on conducting a referendum should be realized." Moreover, "the referendum could be a necessary procedure for receiving a legitimate response to the questions put by the Russian president to the people."

According to the minister, Russia will remain a dependable world partner, a country in which a legally elected president and government will stay in office, and where there is no chaos. "Russia plans to fulfill all the international commitments it has made," stressed Kozyrev.

## Military Issues

### Pacific Fleet Commander Resigns 'for Health Reasons'

*LD1303053093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0406 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Timofey Orekhov]

[Text] Vladivostok, 13 Mar—A commission from the Main Naval Staff of Russia, headed by Chief of Staff Admiral Valentin Selivanov, has started work in Vladivostok. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed at the press center of the Main Naval Staff that the visit is linked to dramatic events on the island of Russkiy near Vladivostok, where the Maritime Kray Soviet commission of deputies on social protection and human rights established numerous facts on seamen being insulted. Local observers and mass media bodies reckon that the sphere of competence of the commission includes the issue of a new Pacific Fleet commander instead of Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov, who tendered his resignation "for health reasons."

### Missile Test Engineer on Reliability of Equipment

*OW1403124793 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Mar 93*

[From the "Aty Baty" program]

[Text] [Video shows post launch packing up of missile launch equipment, then cuts to show correspondent interviewing L. P. Kozhevnikov, senior test engineer] [Begin recording] [Correspondent] Leonid Petrovich, we have just spoken to the officers of the regiment and they are in a happy, elated, one can even say festive mood as a result of the missile launch. However, for you it must be an everyday event?

[Kozhevnikov] Yes, in the 22 years of my service here at the test range, we have launched somewhere in the order of more than 30. I am now the senior test engineer, and our current work is connected with the creation of new missile complexes.

[Correspondent] From the point of view of the tester, do you find them reliable?

[Kozhevnikov] As for reliability, the facts speak for themselves. So far, in the rocket force, we have had no unsanctioned launches and no breaches in connection with nuclear safety. The missile complexes are quite reliable, because maintenance [otrabotka] is carried out very scrupulously with the participation of many organizations backed by computers. So far we have made no mistakes and have had no problems with the reliability of equipment that has been supplied. [end recording]

### Missile Officers Discuss Training, Test Range Safety

*OW1403134793 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Mar 93*

[From the "Aty Baty" program]

[Text] [Video shows operation to pack up missile launch equipment, then cuts to show the correspondent interviewing Colonel N. P. Okhrimenko, commander of the rocket battalion.] [Begin recording] [Correspondent] Nikolay Pavlovich, how do you feel as your regiment's test range training finishes up now?

[Okhrimenko] Tactical training has always been the highest form of training for subunit personnel, units, and commanders. That is why the main aim in tactical training is not only to test, but to train people.

[Correspondent] This regiment has many young officers and the future of the rocket forces is in their hands. However, having served a quarter of a century in the rocket forces, how do you see the future of the rocket forces?

[Okhrimenko] The rocket forces have always been our homeland's shield, and I think that they will remain that. However, their future will be decided by the government, the Supreme Soviet, and evidently by some international organizations. However, I think that they will remain the homeland's shield.

[Correspondent] What changes await the trained rocket officer?

[Okhrimenko] An officer has always been a professional. Currently soldiers, sergeants are changing to a contract style of service, however, the officer has always been, and will remain a professional. As a professional he will have more demands made of him, and more will be expected of him. However, officers will have more social protection.

[Correspondent] And you think that all of this will happen?

[Okhrimenko] Yes. [Video shows missile carriers moving out of position, then cuts to show the correspondent interviewing Colonel V. P. Bogomolov, senior officer of the combat training administration of the Strategic Missile Forces.]

[Correspondent] Tens of millions of rubles are being spent on training rocket troops at the test range, and conducting combat training launches of missiles. Is this expenditure justified?

[Bogomolov] Yes. First, this is evidenced by the fact that the test range has a well equipped training and materiel base, including field positions such as the one you and I are in right now. There is no necessity to provide every regiment with training equipment, which is also expensive. That is why training here at the test range training center is justified, in that we are not spending large amounts of money on the creation of training and material bases for rocket regiments in other regions. Redeployment of personnel to the training center, and expenditure in connection with the cost of temporary duty assignments are justified by the cost we would have incurred by creating similar training centers at every regiment's positional region.

[Correspondent] Why are an actual launches necessary?

[Bogomolov] The crowning element of the regiment's tactical training, as a rule, is the combat training launch of a missile. It is not a necessary element, but, as I said, is the rule. Combat training launches not only give personnel confidence in the equipment which they use, there are also research aims, the knowledge of the type of rocket weapon regiments use to carry out their combat duty, and whether it is capable of fulfilling a given mission. Launches are conducted periodically, and this is determined by order of the minister of defense, in that each regiment has a right to conduct rocket launches over a certain number of years. As I also noted, there are research aims to be pursued with every combat training launch.

[Correspondent] This is not your first launch of this type. Have there been any of malfunction, or launch failure?

[Bogomolov] Having worked at this complex practically from the day of its creation, and only in isolated instances have other representatives of the central apparatus been involved preparing regiments for combat training launches, I can say that in more than 50 launches at this test range, there has never been an accidental launch. [end recording]

### Deputy Defense Minister on Arms Industry

*PM1203143993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 2*

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Valentin Rudenko: "We Are Capable of Producing Unique Weapons"]

[Text] In the city on the Neva a group of Defense Ministry generals and officers headed by Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy defense minister, has performed planned work to study the real state of affairs in the troops, to explain the measures which Russia's president, Supreme Soviet, and government are taking to strengthen the armed forces, and to render aid in introducing new legislative acts and edict documents.

During the meetings with officers and artillery troops soldiers and seamen from the training ship Perekop, the Navy seafaring school, and the military academy of communications and at the conference of leading personnel of Leningrad Military District and the Leningrad naval base there was also a discussion of a number of important questions affecting the prospects of arms development.

It is well known that we are having to carry out the elaboration and implementation of military-technical policy in extremely complex conditions. As a result of the change in proportions between expenditure on the maintenance of the army and the purchase of arms and military equipment, there has recently been an enormous decline in defense orders. Many production sharing and technological relations were broken off. For industry and for the armed forces this resulted in grave losses and expenses.

But even here our defense industry retained the ability to produce arms systems which could be made only by a few highly developed countries. It is very important not to lose this ability, after all a cornerstone of the Russian armed forces is "smart weapons."

Unfortunately, for many years we have paid paramount attention to weaponry and everything which backs up its high degree of efficiency—reconnaissance, target designation, and communications facilities—was left in the shadows. Here such an imbalance formed in some cases that the lag was for a whole generation. Work to eliminate this imbalance has now been highlighted as a priority task of military-technical policy.

The problem of ensuring the personal safety and effectiveness of the fighter on the battle field and at his combat post was also cited as very important. The new army which we are building demands that man be placed at the center of everything. Much is already being done in this direction. Specialists from the Main Missile and Artillery Directorate are developing a special topic relating to the fighter's personal gear and equipment and protection.

The key issue, as has already repeatedly been emphasized, will be the modernization of types of weapons and combat equipment which have given a good account of themselves. New "stuffing," modern electronic equipment, and more powerful and effective weapons with which it is planned to fit them will breathe new life into these systems.

A topic of special attention was the study of the state of affairs in the ship-building industry. The Navy has now found itself in an extremely difficult if not the worst situation. There are many reasons for that, but perhaps the main one is the same disproportion which has formed between the creation of combat means, that is the ships themselves, and the systems for their basing and backup, and primarily ship repair. Today a considerable number of ships, including those which have outlived their operating life, are standing idle and cannot fully resolve combat tasks.

We shall hardly be able in the near future to lay in a sufficient number of new ships. What is being extracted from the Navy's combat and auxiliary ships is above all the nucleus which ensures the solution of the main task—the ability of the strategic nuclear forces' naval component to stand up in combat, but we must not forget either the navy's other tasks in accordance with the provisions of the Russian military doctrine which is being formed.

A fitting place in this nucleus is designed to be taken by the heaving nuclear-powered missile cruiser Petr Velikiy whose construction has been under way for seven years now at the "Baltiyskiy Zavod" association. This cruiser has had a difficult fate. For two years virtually no work has been done on it because of lack of financing, but the Russian Defense Ministry realizes that this cruiser is not simply a symbol of Russian naval might but also a powerful combat complex which the navy needs very much and it has done everything possible to find the funds to complete the building. Work on the ship is now in full swing.

The Petr Velikiy will be equipped with modern weapons, sophisticated control systems and radar facilities and reliable ABM system. It implements many technologies and technical and design solutions which were not successfully developed on the three preceding ships of this series. It will be a supermodern cruiser.

The "Baltiyskiy Zavod" is prepared to continue to build powerful surface ships for the navy. But the situation is taking shape in such a way that the share of military orders is declining with every passing year. Today they comprise only 8 percent, whereas in the mid-eighties the plan produced over 80 percent of its output for the Navy.

As "Baltiyskiy Zavod" director Oleg Sulyakovskiy noted, despite such a sharp reduction in military orders, the shipbuilders have not been without work and are now thinking not of survival but of how to catch up with the world's leading shipyards in terms of technological level and building rates.

People have found new opportunities and under the gravest conditions have been able to retain cadres and look confidently into the future. It is in such enterprises that we should invest conversion money. And under the special program for updating the Russian Navy which has already been elaborated. The civilian economy and the Armed Forces will benefit because a powerful collective will be retained and the production base will be renewed.

At meetings with directors of St. Petersburg enterprises there was talk of how very painful decisions are having to be made today regarding the concentration of the production of arms and combat equipment. Whereas, for instance, tanks in the former USSR were produced at five plants, now they are produced at only two. There is a similar situation with regard to other arms systems. Often without a defense order it is necessary to abandon production facilities which were specially developed for specific types of weapons and combat equipment, but we cannot manage without concentrating the defense order at a smaller number of enterprises, that is the necessary level of profitability will not be ensured for specific plants.

The Defense Ministry leadership is resolutely opposed to the kind of expenditure of funds earmarked for conversion which we had last year. Many people saw this money as a subsidy for enterprises. We must basically renounce this practice. In terms of their structure and technologies the majority of enterprises are designed for the small-series of production of high-technology output and the and the fulfillment of large long-term state programs. Today we have a difficult situation in the fuel and energy problems and many problems with transport, communications, and other federal and regional programs. It would be sensible to give all conversion money to those responsible for these programs and they would order and unfailingly buy from defense enterprises the boring devices, measuring apparatus, aircraft, communications means, and so forth.

In the assessment of First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin, a quite difficult year lies ahead. There is a danger that the budget system may not hold out. Over two months of the new year have already elapsed but the Supreme Soviet has still not adopted the budget, which puts the fulfillment of the defense order for 1993 and the implementation of the arms program through the year 2000 in an exceptionally difficult position.

One of the most painful questions will be the indexing of expenditure both on the maintenance of the Armed Forces and on defense orders. Last year's experience shows that although the Ministry of Finances did undertake indexing on two occasions the year was nonetheless completed with multibillion debts. It is because of the belated and inadequate indexing that part of this debt has still not been extinguished. The Defense Ministry has still not received the necessary funds despite the fact that the Russian Federation government and Supreme Soviet have made the relevant decisions.

With a view to concentrating the efforts of industry and science, including military science, on the solution of priority tasks in the field of arms and military equipment, an edict of the defense minister recently created the Council for Military-Technical Policy. The council's staff has been formed in such a way as to ensure the valid formation of military-technical policy which is being implemented; a large part of the council consists of the leaders of defense enterprises (design bureaus and plants), scientists working in defense science, and economists.

One more idea was heard in the military and production audiences—everything must be done to strengthen and develop the collaboration between the army and industry. And literally in all spheres, including purely human ones. The question must be raised in such a way that the best officers' cadres, after being released into the reserve, go to work at defense enterprises not as janitors but as leaders, that servicemen's vouchers are invested in viable enterprises and bring a guaranteed income. It is time to explain to everyone the simple truth that there can be no Russian armed forces without a defense industry.

## Varennikov, Kozhokin Grant Interview

*LD1403170393*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on 13 March carries in its 55-minute "Top Secret" program recorded interviews with Valentin Ivanovich Varennikov and Yevgeniy Kozhokin by anchorman Artem Borovik.

Introducing Varennikov, Borovik says: "It was this very man who, during the last 10-15 years, was the main Soviet military representative in the world's so-called hot spots: Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Chernobyl. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which he, incidentally, commanded right in Kabul, this man was appointed commander of ground forces. Enormous fire and combat power was concentrated in his hands, huge political influence: This would soon become a matter of serious concern for both Gorbachev and Yeltsin, as well as for a number of Western leaders. He became well-known nationwide by signing the infamous appeal to the people, and by taking part in the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in August. However, the country looked into his eyes for the first time when this man spoke at the USSR People's Deputies' Congress." The video shows arhive footage of Varennikov addressing USSR delegates and criticizing forces which intend to destroy the law and order apparatus.

In the course of the interview, Varennikov answers Borovik's questions about Gorbachev. He says he first met him at a sitting of the Politburo Afghanistan commission, and describes him as "rather lively, lively eyes, very cheerful, a very likeable man indeed." He then relates how his attitude to Gorbachev changed: First he was disappointed when Gorbachev failed to appear in Chernobyl and "did not have a firm say regarding U.S. responsibilities when the Geneva accords were signed; this in fact put me in opposition to him."

Borovik says that the army disliked Gorbachev no less that it did Khrushchev. Why then did the army not "relieve" Gorbachev of his duties? That is hard to say, Varennikov replies. During the Khrushchev period, there was a unanimity of opinion in the Politburo, that is, the majority sided with Brezhnev in a desire to overthrow Khrushchev. Conversely, Gorbachev managed to build up a following; thus, "the absence of such unity stopped one from taking steps of the same nature as, let us say, under Brezhnev."

Asked about his relations with Yeltsin, Varennikov says there are none, either personal or professional. He says he highly values all SCSE members, including Yanayev, who he believes to be a courageous man: Now some coup organizers occasionally phone one another, but there are no close links.

Over Varennikov's family album, Borovik then describes the main landmarks of his biography. He goes on to ask whether the autumn 1991 top command cadre reshuffle in the army can be compared with that of 1936-1937; then the top command was shot and killed, in 1991 it was truncated. Did new people move up too fast, missing important steps? Varennikov replies he would rather not draw a parallel. "However, of course, this could influence the general state of affairs. It is very difficult, of course, to take up a high post, to solve problems of state importance without sufficient experience, but time will show."

Over footage of a man working at his computer, Borovik continues: "I put the same rather provocative question to a man of a completely different generation, who came to real power following the failed coup. Not only because I believe him to be one of the most brilliant representatives of this generation of people, but also because Yevgeniy Kozhokin, 38, chairman of the Subcommittee For Security and Intelligence, is professionally involved in issues related to armed forces." Kozhokin says that he "does not believe that such a catastrophic cadre renovation has indeed taken place, because as for ministries, by and large the people who came to power had spent their lives doing the same, apart from some first persons. Moreover, we used to have this disease—people were parachuted into power ministries from party structures, the people who had never dealt with these issues before. This time, such a mass parachuting of politicians and, let us say democrats or half- democrats did not take place. Incidentally, the only one to be in real danger now is the Foreign Ministry, considering how many people's deputies are urgently taking courses in the Diplomatic Academy. I have a horror vision of the Foreign Ministry invaded by these new diplomats, of them becoming ambassadors. This will be a huge blow for the Foreign Ministry, for its cadre policy," Kozokhin says.

Commenting on the personnel in the Security Ministry, Kozhokhin says that he is satisfied that they are "competent" and "professional" people. Perhaps the only main problem is the lack of younger people. This should be corrected.

A 2-minute biography of Varennikov follows, recounting his career as a soldier. Borovik then asks Varennikov about his relations with Ustinov, Soviet defense minister from 1976 to 1984, with whom he had his differences, but who he nevertheless supported. "It was chance that he became defence minister. He did not know, and never got to know, the armed forces," Varennikov says. He accuses Ustinov of damaging the armed forces by not modernizing them when the United States was doing so. Borovik then asks whether the USSR would not have come off worse if there had been a war with the United States. Varennikov replies: "No, of course not." He adds: "As a whole if you evaluate the possibilities and capabilities then we would have looked very strong. I will tell you, first of all there was the nuclear shield. There can be no questions here. Second, the disposition of forces. Our disposition of forces in the West was such, that if anyone dared undertake anything against us, then within a few weeks they would have resolved all questions throughout the whole of Europe. There can be no doubt of that."

An interview then follows with General Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. troops in Iraq, who says that Soviet equipment and technical expertise was excellent; he is glad, he says, that he never had to find out whether the United States had over or underestimated the strength of Soviet forces.

Borovik then asks Varennikov if the general staff were aware the Soviet Union in the event of war would be fighting the whole world. Varennikov replies: "We were sure no one would touch us, and that's how it was." He quotes Robert Gates, ex-CIA chief, as saying the United States knew it could never destroy the USSR in war; it could only collapse from within. He says that when he was a military chief, he does not think there was any time when there was any danger of war with the West. U.S. actions, such as the Grenada incident and the air strikes against Libya, aroused indignation in the general staff, but no Soviet actions were thought necessary.

Asked about the cost of the military, Varennikov says it would have been preferable to spend the money on the USSR, but strong armed forces were necesary to defend Soviet interests.

Resuming the interview with Kozokhin, Borovik asks whether the Russian Army has learned the lessons that the Soviet army learned by its involvment in regional conflicts such as Afghanistan, Angola and Ethiopia. He replies: "Probably not," citing Nagorno-Karabakh as an example. People are too optimistic they can resolve these situations, however: "I can well imagine what would happen in the North Caucasus if the Russian Army was not there. The nightmare would be ten times greater. I think that every time the main problem is not where the blood is flowing, every time I find that the main problem is in Moscow, since if there is political agreement in Moscow on any conflict, if there is a unity of action of the president, parliament, and government, then Russia has on the whole enough strength to halt the conflict or simply not let it happen. If there is dissension, a conflict in Moscow, and if what is happening in one place or another is used in this conflict, then you have a bloody drama, and this bloody drama will spread. Everything today depends on Moscow, and not on Ossetia, Ingushetia, Abkhazia or even Georgia, although Georgia is an independent state." Following a further extract of Varennikov's biography, recounting his role in Afghanistan, Varennikov says that Gorbachev initially had no particular stance on the Afghanistan invasion, but later "it became clear that the whole time he was on the path of obliging the Americans on all issues, on all problems, including Afghanistan, to the detriment of the Soviet Union." This was so the Americans would trust him as someone they could rely on. Borovik then quotes an unnamed aide to Brezhnev as telling him that if the Soviet army had not entered Afghanistan then it would have entered Poland. So Afghanistan saved Poland? Varennikov says that of course Afghanistan had an influence on the situation in the sense that the Soviet Union inflicted losses on itself there, and when the Polish situation arose, approximately a year later, the USSR was not in a position to take the same actions as it had with, say, Czechoslovakia. It was possible only to influence things.

Borovik then asks Kozhokin about fears that there may be a new putsch. Kozokhin says: "We are not guaranteed against a putsch, unfortunately. But I do not believe that the danger comes from the force structures." He believes that it comes from the politicians, using the congress, who are trying to achieve power through constitutional means and if this does not succeed then they will try to provoke the executive authorities into acute measures. He continues: "Organizing a military coup is not the most difficult thing. As a matter of fact it is not very difficult to do. The most difficult thing is what needs to be done the day after the military coup".

Borovik asks Kozhokin to what degree the force structures, i.e. the Army, military intelligence, the Interior Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service etc. are under parliamentary control. Kozhokin says that only the United States has its force structures under strict parliamentary control; however, "we have to a large degree begun to copy the Americans' experience, and today the possibility of our parliamentary committee on defense and security issues having control is greater than that of the majority of our European colleagues."

### Tensions Force Change in Military Doctrine

*MK1303111093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 3, 10 Mar 93 (Signed to Press 9 Mar 93) p 3*

[Article by Pavel Felgengauer: "Defense Ministry Strengthens Southern Flank. Changes in Russian Federation Military Doctrine"]

[Text] In March 1993 it suddenly transpires that Russia, according to President Yeltsin, "is in dire need of a military doctrine." Any further delay is unacceptable. "Long overdue!" exclaimed the commanders in chief and commanders invited to attend the expanded meeting of the Security Council on 3 March. The president has decreed, so a "neat new blueprint" for military and foreign policy activities (different from the old one) will no doubt be presented in the very near future.

Actually, the strategic nuclear forces will be aimed "at the West," as before, but significant changes are already under way in the strategic deployment of "conventional" armed forces. Last June the Western Sector was still the priority sector (in particularly there was discussion of the establishment of Smolensk Military District). Amid the general confusion the idea of equal defense in all directions was also expressed, but now the increasing instability in the Caucasus region has resulted in the North Caucasus Military District [NCMD] becoming "one of the principal districts" in the Russian Federation Armed Forces. An airborne brigade has been withdrawn from Kutaisi to the territory of the district, and yet another airborne brigade has been formed; an airborne division is being withdrawn; two motorized rifle brigades have been formed; yet another motorized rifle brigade is being formed at the moment. Airborne transport and combat aviation units and units of the 19th separate air defense army are being transferred from Georgia.

Russia will now have a very important strategic defense line following the main Caucasus mountain range, along the new state border, but the Transcaucasus remains Russia's main strategic forward defense area, directly affecting the military situation in the NCMD. Many Russian forces still remain in the Transcaucasus, deployed on the old strategic frontier—on the border with Turkey, a NATO member.

Only a few months ago the Russian Defense Ministry and General Staff were certainly hoping to keep a significant grouping in the Transcaucasus indefinitely, but it is now absolutely clear that to maintain scattered garrisons on the old border is an impossible luxury.

The last large Russian formation—the 104th Airborne Division, based in Gyandzha—is being withdrawn from Azerbaijan, somewhat ahead of schedule. A Russian division is also stationed in friendly-for-the-moment Armenia, in Gyumri, on the border with Turkey. But there is also a question mark against the future of this garrison: The administration in Armenia could be replaced and the division's armaments could be "urgently" needed on the Karabakh front or somewhere else, and it is becoming more and more expensive to actually maintain a large formation in besieged Armenia.

But the most serious situation at the moment is in Georgia, where the biggest grouping of Russian forces in the Transcaucasus is stationed—air defense units, two motorized rifle divisions on the Turkish border, and also "new" formations, essentially performing combat security functions for the new Caucasus strategic frontier—an airborne operational grouping in Abkhazia and three "peacemaking" motorized rifle battalions in South Ossetia. The "new" groupings of Russian forces in Georgia, unlike the "old" ones, are totally combat-capable and fully manned formations.

In summer 1992 it seemed that chairman Shevardnadze's administration and the Russian Government had achieved complete mutual understanding. An agreement on South Ossetia was signed in Dagomys on 24 June and peacemaking forces were introduced. In June and July the armaments of the disbanded 10th "Akhaltsikhskaya" tank division, combat helicopters of the Telavskiy regiment, and other items were transferred to the Georgian side. In August the Georgian army invaded Abkhazia, but even then the Russian neutrality in the conflict was undoubtedly friendly toward Georgia.

Soon, though, it became clear that new independent Georgia and the Georgian army in particular were so badly organized that they were not in a position to cope with small, independently operating Abkhaz detachments, even given vast superiority in forces and facilities. At the beginning of October Abkhaz forces completely routed a powerful Georgian grouping in the vicinity of Gagry- Leselidze and took control of the former Russian-Georgian border along the Psou river. The Georgian garrisons in Sukhumi and in the Kodori valley are squeezed between the front on the Gumista River and the Abkhaz partisans near Tkvarcheli. The railroad is practically out of operation and the highway near Ochamchire is under constant fire from the sea and from the mountains. It is very likely that the Georgian army is standing on the brink of another catastrophe, which could end in a flight from Abkhazia.

As Chairman Shevardnadze's options ran out, his positions in Moscow also deteriorated. So General Grachev's visit to Gudauta and Batum and his ostentatious refusal to stop off at Tbilisi for talks are just an indicator of the way relations have cooled. Actually, for the Georgian Government, at the moment the Russian forces are primarily a source of equipment, ammunition, and armaments, in order to be able to go some way toward stabilizing the situation at the front, where losses are increasing daily. In such situations it is difficult to reach an understanding on anything at all, except on how to divide up the departing army's armaments without a real scrap.

Both sides are interested in a temporary compromise, but no more than that. The remants of the 19th Air Defense Army, the headquarters of General Reut's group of forces in Tbilisi, the border troops, and even the motorized rifle division in Akhalkaki are "doomed." It is difficult to withdraw personnel, let alone heavy armaments and equipment, without assistance or even if the Georgian authorities do not interfere. The Georgian army also wants an accord: After all, it wants to get the equipment and armaments in good working order.

The Batum motorized rifle division is in a somewhat better position. It has a direct supply line via the port of Batum and can if necessary be withdrawn (with its equipment), via it, to the NCMD, where it would be more useful, in fact.

But there is an even worse-case scenario—if defeats in Abkhazia actually make chairman Shevardnadze announce a "general mobilization," when Georgia lacks both the headquarters structures and cadre units for an organized mobilization. Weapons could be issued, but they would never be returned. Georgia could become another Tajikistan and then the Russian forces might have to stay put indefinitely.

### Rocket Force Combat Regiment in 'Tactical Training'

*OW1403122393 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Mar 93*

[From the "Aty-Baty" program]

[Text] The Plesetsk rocket test site has for a long time been eclipsed by the dazzling fame of Baykonur, but recently its fate has changed dramatically. It has become the only Russian space port and the main testing site for testing rocket technology. Thousands of specialists of the strategic rocket forces have been retrained here. For them, the testing site is one huge lecture hall.

Our filming crew caught one of the rocket force combat regiments in the middle of a special tactical training. We were amazed not only by the might of the unique combat equipment but also by the consuming desire of the rocket troopers to master all the secrets of combat. Today, when many only talk about the creation of a professional Russian Army, the rocket troopers are taking real steps toward professionalism. [Video shows a detachment preparing a mobile SS-25 missile for launch, cuts to show interview with Lieutenant General A. N. Perminov, chief of State Testing Site.]

[Begin Perminov recording] I think that the specialists are best trained at the testing site. First, the instructors are very well trained here. They possess knowledge not only about the military practice, but also about the whole history of creation of the rocket complex. They are test engineers and other specialists who have been honing their skills for decades. Therefore, they are much better prepared than other specialists. [end recording]

## Space Issues

### SS-25 Converted for Commercial Satellite Launch

*OW1103134593 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 6 Mar 93*

[From the "Aty Baty" program]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is going on in one of the test buildings at the missile test range may be regarded, in a sense, as a miracle. [Video shows rocket assembly shop, rocket in stage of assembly.]

Right before our eyes, a strategic combat missile is being transformed into a means for transporting artificial satellites into orbit. The first launch of this rocket is planned for March 1993, and there have already been prospective proposals from foreign countries. The program, Start I, promises to bring substantial commercial profit, and serves as a sensible decision for conversion problems. [Video shows fitting of the nose cone onto the rocket, then cuts to show the correspondent interviewing O.M. Yegorov, deputy chief of technical testing.]

[Correspondent] Oleg Mikhaylovich, tell us about this interesting rocket, and how the idea came about to make a commercial-purpose rocket out of a combat missile.

[Yegorov] As you know, the Russian-U.S. agreement on reducing offensive weapons provides for the liquidation of a number of systems, and, of course, it is was very disappointing to lose such rockets. We are specifically talking about the RS12M [SS-25] rocket. We had the idea to use this sufficiently powerful and mobile launch vehicle to launch space satellites. Of course, we had to do some serious work because the thrust of this rocket was not sufficient to take a satellite into orbit. That is why we had to rework this launch vehicle by adding an extra stage. Here in this building you are observing the final assembly process of this launch vehicle.

### Cosmonauts Install New Apparatus in Space Complex

*LD1203103093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Space Mission Control Centre March 12 TASS—Russian cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Aleksandr Poleschuk are continuing the space flight. In accordance with a programme of equipping the orbital station with new apparatus brought by the Progress M-16 cargo spacecraft, the space crew assembled two additional hydroscope stabilizers in the Kwant-2 module. In the next few days the stabilizers would be connected to the system of the orientation and steering of the orbital station.

On Friday [12 March], the crew is expected to carry out maintenance work on the system of water regeneration from the atmosphere and a number of experiments to determine the intensity of meteors' movement in near earth space.

According to results of a medical examination, both cosmonauts are in good health.

## Economic Issues

### Yeltsin Decrees New Agency To Protect Foreign Investment

*LD1403210593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1630 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has decreed to set up an international agency to insure from noncommercial risks investments into Russia's economy. The document stipulates that a national organizing committee will be formed to take part in the founding of the international body. The organizing committee will hold talks with international financial organizations, foreign banks, and investment and insurance companies on matters pertaining to founding an international agency, forming registered capital and terms of Russia's participation. The decree has the aim of attracting foreign capital into Russia's economy.

### Draft Decree on Support for Private Farms Summarized

*PM1203145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 93 First Edition p 4*

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "The Government Supports Private Farmers"]

[Text] A draft Russian Federation Council of Ministers Decree "On Measures of State Support for Peasant (Private) Farms in 1993" has been prepared.

Among other items in this extensive document, there is one concerning the wave of modern-day "dekulakization" against private peasant farmers which has begun in a number of regions of late, and which our newspaper was first to expose. It is proposed to task a number of relevant departments in cooperation with private farmers' self-management bodies with detecting and examining instances of the unlawfully confiscation of land offered to private farmers, as well as instances of the misuse of land redistribution funds, and the unlawful granting of agricultural benefits to workers in state institutions and commercial structures who are not involved in agriculture.

But the most important part of the draft is the financial section. In particular, it is planned to allocate 225 billion rubles [R] from the federal budget (at December 1992 prices with subsequent indexation) for proffering state support to private farms and developing interfarm cooperation.

It is also planned to allocate credit resources to the value of R350 billion, including long-term credits worth R200 billion, to peasant farms, their associations, and cooperatives in 1993.

At least 15 percent of state capital investments and funds earmarked in local budgets for corresponding purposes are to be pumped into constructing social and production infrastructure facilities.

The draft decree provides for setting up a system of peasant farmer cooperative banks and farmers' insurance companies. It is planned to issue the necessary interest-free loans to make up their incorporation capital and reserves.

New rates have been defined for paying monetary benefits to those moving and migrating to a private farm. Moreover, such benefits are now also being issued to families which migrate—not only from the city, but also within the borders of a rural locality—to sectors which are being newly opened up so as to begin private farming.

The draft also stipulates compensation for farmers from the state budget for 50 percent of the cost of livestock barns under construction.

## International Affairs

### Foreign Minister Comments on Nuclear Issue

*LD1303201793*

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1500 GMT on 13 March carries a one hour phone-in program with the participation of Ukraine Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

Following a brief introduction, Zlenko replies to questions on the principles of Ukrainian foreign policy; the procedure of diplomatic appointments; the division of the former USSR foreign debt and property abroad; the availability of Ukrainian Embassy premises abroad; the influence of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies on Ukrainian communist activity; dual citizenship and citizenship in general; and Ukrainian foreign policy toward Latin America.

Answering a question on the nuclear issue, Zlenko says: "In general, I would like to say that, indeed, the issue of Ukraine becoming nuclear or non-nuclear has lately become acute, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that the future of Ukraine as an independent state will depend upon how it is settled. This is, at present, the central issue in our political relations with other states.

"I would like to say the following in this connection: At least three aspects of this issue need to be taken into consideration in order to settle the nuclear dilemma with which Ukraine is faced.

"First of all, there is the connection with ensuring the national security of Ukraine, both in a narrow sense—such as the military—and in the widest sense, i.e. the influence upon the further development of the state.

"Second, there is the influence of Ukraine's nuclear or non-nuclear choice on the volume and rate of the implementation of economic reform in Ukraine and its progress along the path of building a democratic society with a developed economy.

"And third, there is the effect this or the other decision will have on the place occupied by Ukraine in the world, in particular within the geostrategic space of Europe, which is most important to us.

"The activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in respect of the nuclear policy of Ukraine from the outset has been based on the analysis of the above-mentioned factors."

Anatoliy Zlenko further answered a number of questions on such aspects of Ukrainian foreign policy as the issue of Ukrainian citizenship for Belgian Ukrainians; the recognition of Ukraine and its borders by the world community; and the oil issue.

### U.S. Nuclear Disarmament Policy Criticized

*AU1303182993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 10 Mar 93 p 2*

[Report by Valentyn Labunskyy: "'START I': To Hurry Slowly"]

[Text] **First public parliamentary hearings on the "Preparation of 'START I' for Ratification" were held. Members of the working deputies group that is preparing the treaty for ratification, expert lawyers, and Ukraine's people's deputies took part.**

In his introductory speech, leader of the deputies group, Yu. Kostenko, emphasized that the group had started working immediately after the Lisbon Protocol was concluded and, over this period of time, already prepared much material. Professor P. Martynenko, specialist in the sphere of international law, pointed out that every state must take care of its own security and the effectiveness thereof. According to the norms of international law, Ukraine has no juridical obligations and must decide on its own, proceeding from considerations of its own security, whether it should or should not have nuclear weapons. Attempts by some states to put pressure on Ukraine and demand its immediate nuclear disarmament are legally ungrounded.

What are the main factors that prevent Ukraine from quickly ratifying START I and the Lisbon Protocol? There are three of them: guarantees of future security for a nuclear-free Ukraine, provision of capital to cover the expenses on dismantling and destroying nuclear weapons, and compensation for the uranium and plutonium that are comprised in nuclear warheads.

"It is ridiculous," said Ukraine's People's Deputy O. Shevchenko during the hearings, "to expect that after Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament, Russia will provide reliable guarantees and will adhere to them. History teaches us that our northern neighbor repeatedly treated international agreements like worthless pieces of paper. Ukraine's joining NATO might become a real guarantee for our security, but this is incompatible with the nonparticipation in blocs that was declared by Ukraine."

In the past, we were bombarded by Soviet propaganda that was trying to convince us of Uncle Sam's insidiousness. Today, we are inclined to state that this was not entirely groundless. It is hard to call the attitude on the part of the White House toward the problems of eliminating nuclear weapons anything but odd. On the one hand, Washington declares about its all-around support for Ukraine's initiatives regarding its nuclear-free status, but on the other hand, it wants the process of nuclear disarmament to take place immediately, without taking into account our state's security. Moreover, the United States is seriously negotiating with Russia the possibility of selling the uranium and plutonium that are contained in operational-tactical missiles that Ukraine transferred to Russia for destruction. The $175 million that we were promised by the American side for implementing the project for the destruction of our strategic nuclear weapons is obviously insufficient.

Therefore, Ukraine may join START I. However, it is its right and not in any way its duty. Regarding the Lisbon Protocol, in the opinion of experts, it is not desirable to join it today, because this will harm our state's security. Nor should we hasten with START I. There are still many question marks there. This is because, as Professor P. Martynenko said at the aforementioned hearings, Ukraine's nuclear status is the best guarantee for its security.

The parliamentary hearings on the question of the ratification of START I will continue.

### Rukh Leader Views U.S. Visit, START I

*OW1303145293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of Ukraine's Popular Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] Vyacheslav Chornovil believes that joining the NATO alliance could be the sole guarantee for this nation's security after the liquidation of nuclear weapons. Appearing at a press conference on Friday [12 March] in Kiev which was devoted to the outcome of his tour to the United States and Canada, he sharply criticized Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement "about Russia's special role in maintaining peace on CIS territory." "Imperial circles,—he said,—are striving to turn Russia into a gendarme over one sixth of the planet." Chornovil declared that during his conversations with the Canadian parliamentarians he emphasized the threat to Ukraine's independence on the part of Russia in which "the political instability caused by the activization of revenge forces has reached its critical point." According to Chornovil, he called on the Canadian politicians to precisely determine their position with respect to security guarantees for Ukraine. He stressed the necessity "to establish priority in rendering western aid to the states of 'the buffer zone' between Europe and the instable Russia." Chornovil declared that the issue on security guarantees is the key one in the ratification process of the START-1 Treaty by Ukraine's Supreme Soviet. He called the parliament to thoroughly examine the treaty before the ratification because, he said, this document had been developed without Ukraine's participation.

#### Further on News Conference

*LD1303190393*

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 2000 GMT on 12 March carries a report on a 12 March news conference given by Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil on his return from a visit to the United States and Canada.

During his visit, Chornovil stated his views on nuclear disarmament. The correspondent notes that Chornovil half jokingly told the press conference that Ukraine is known in America mainly because of the problem of Ukraine's nuclear disarmament and that, therefore, if this problem did not exist, it would be worth inventing it.

On the subject of nuclear disarmament, Chornovil notes, "Before I left on my trip, I met Leonid Kravchuk in order to ascertain whether the government's position regarding this problem had changed. I spoke to the minister of foreign affairs. Insofar as the position of Rukh is very close to the government position, at least the way it is... [pauses] the way it was at the moment of my departure—because it could change in some way—I was, one could say, a representative of the government position as well.

"I can briefly report the main points of this position. First, we do not want to be spoken to in the language of ultimatums. I told this to American senators as well. I said to them: Imagine that some country was prompting the United States on how many days, or how much time, it should (?work) on examining some draft law or other, and that country posed conditions that if you do not examine it in this way, but in another way, then we will try a (?total) economic blockade, or use some other measures. This is not a dignified tone of conversation with a state, an independent state, which Ukraine is. This is one thing. After all, the U.S. Congress examined the START I Treaty over 10 months. It is demanded of us that we do this over several days.

"Second, this treaty was elaborated without Ukraine's participation. It touches on the interests of Ukraine, and in essential ways. And so our Supreme Council, if it is capable of this, should examine this treaty very thoroughly. It can make some remarks, it can make some observations.

"I said that the situation to the east of us is very unstable; that Russia is itself on the verge of breakdown, that both right- and left-wing forces, which are in blocs among themselves, have raised their profiles greatly, and that Yeltsin's position has been shaken. In the event of Yeltsin's fall, no one (?from the Democrats) will come to power; anything can happen. If even politicians of Rutskoy's type are speaking of territorial claims on Ukraine, then what is to be said about politicians of Zhirinovskiy's type?

"Well, in this situation we need security guarantees and political guarantees. We would not have anything against Russia taking on obligations and America and other countries of the West coming forward as a guarantor that no problems between Ukraine and Russia will ever, under any circumstances, be resolved through force, that no one will raise the issue of territorial claims to Ukraine, and that no one will make use of the economy as a means of political blackmail on our independent state."

Regarding the financial issue of nuclear disarmament, Chornovil says: "The discussion was about the huge material expenditure needed for dismantling our nuclear potential. The $175 million that America supposedly allocated for this in advance—although it has not given a cent so far—this is a very insufficient sum. The talk could be about several billions.

"I spoke about the need for a serious international commission of experts to establish the sum that we need. A need to set up an international nuclear disarmament fund could arise, of which Japan, and Western countries would be a part. And little by little each would join in reducing nuclear tension. I (?denied) that Rukh, (?like the government), occupies an undefined position. Rukh particularly objects to the removal of nuclear weapons to the territory of Russia. I simply proposed that alternative ways be sought."

The correspondent goes on to say that issues of assistance to Ukraine, an international Chernobyl fund, an international anticommunist conference, Rukh and its tasks at the present stage, and other issues were discussed. The correspondent concludes that Chornovil's trip was successful.

### Zlenko Confirms Commitment to Serbia Sanctions

*OW1203203793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's policies are aimed not against Yugoslavia or Serbia. They are geared to finding the most acceptable political settlement of the Yugoslav conflict, Ukrainian Foreign Minister said in the city of Izmail. Together with a number of members of the Ukrainian parliament, Interior Ministry and State Customs Committee Foreign Minister Zlenko arrived in that city to look into Ukraine's compliance with United Nations sanctions against the former Yugoslav Federation.

Zlenko said that as a result of UN sanctions Ukraine sustained heavy losses. He said that the Danube Shipping Company and the "Ukrrechflot" company were the hardest-hit.

Zlenko said that Kiev would stay committed to the UN sanctions but at the same time look for a way out of that situation.

### MP's Deny Violating UN Yugoslavia Sanctions

*LD1203130793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] A group of parliament members from the Commission for Issues of Defense and State Security of the Supreme Council of Ukraine have taken part in Austria in a European seminar of the North Atlantic Assembly. Issues of cooperation between parliaments and the military and participation in eliminating conflicts, which are arising as a result of crises in certain regions, were discussed at the seminar. A number of the issues reviewed were significant for Ukraine.

In particular, parliamentarians from Ukraine refuted the statements of a Romanian representative about the supposed arrival of oil from Ukraine in Yugoslavia in violation of UN sanctions. The Ukrainian delegation told seminar participants steps that the government has taken in compliance with the embargo.

Pavlo Mysnyk, deputy chairman of the parliamentary Commission for Issues of Defense and State Security, in an interview for Novyny television and radio agency, commented on the position of our delegation at the seminar regarding nuclear disarmament. Until now there are only statements by nuclear nations regarding security guarantees for Ukraine, he said. There are no real guarantees.

Mysnyk believes that the most efficient security guarantees for Ukraine are not declarations, but relevant obligations recorded in the documents of such authoritative organizations as the United Nations or the CSCE in Europe. At the same time, Mysnyk believes, these should be guarantees against the pretensions of those states that might possibly begin to lay claim to Ukraine in the future.

### UN Observer Cited

*LD1303140393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] As of now, we have no grounds to say that Ukraine is violating UN sanctions regarding Yugoslavia. We are cooperating closely with local bodies and customs houses of Ukraine. This was stated by Joseph Lemon, representative of the mission of UN expert-observers. He took part in a meeting with a group of representatives of the Supreme Council of the republic and with leaders of ministries and departments in Izmail. Joseph Lemon noted that Ukraine is truly incurring large losses from the sanctions, which have been introduced, and it should pose the question regarding the resolution of all problems more boldly.

### Cost Around $100 Million

*LD1303212193 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Ukraine will have incurred a direct loss of approximately $100 million by the end of this year as a result of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. This is according to a working meeting held in Izmail between representatives of the UN Security Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Service, customs, border troops, and people's deputies of Ukraine.

## Kravchuk Says Russian German Resettlement Plan Failed

*LD1303210693 Hamburg DPA in German 1813 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The planned resettlement of around 400,000 Russian ethnic Germans in Ukraine has evidently failed. Talking to the news magazine 'DER SPIEGEL' (Monday's edition), Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk makes it clear that he no longer believes that the program which he himself started will become reality. The state leader admits that organizational and other problems are responsible for the failure. Additionally, he believes "that the majority of Germans still hope to travel directly to Germany."

Kravchuk announced at the beginning of 1992 that he wants to settle 400,000 Russian ethnic Germans from the other CIS republics in southern Ukraine. So far only 1,500 resettlers have taken up this invitation. Last year the [German] Government granted 20 million German marks for resettlement in Ukraine, and 25 million marks has been granted for 1993. Before the war around 350,000 Germans lived in Ukraine until Stalin, as was the case with the Volga Germans, had them deported to the Asian part of the Soviet Union in 1941.

## Kravchuk Appeals for POW's Held in Afghanistan

*LD1203210493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] The press service of Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk reports that the president today sent an appeal to Borhanoddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. It reads as follows:

Your Excellency,

I appeal to you, requesting the settlement of an issue which is extremely important and painful for the people of Ukraine. The issue is in connection with the consequences of the war in Afghanistan.

The unjust and cruel decision of the leadership of the former USSR on sending forces of the latter to Afghanistan was condemned in Ukraine. The forces, sent without their wishes having been taken into account, were made to participate in a terrible war. As a result of the war, the population of Afghanistan suffered heavy losses. On the other hand, men of the former USSR were also made victims and held hostage by this war.

There were also persons of Ukrainian origin among those servicemen. Some of them were taken prisoners of war and are on the territory of Afghanistan, and some are missing in action.

Three years have already passed since the former USSR forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan, but the issue of prisoners of war and those missing in action remains. We know that there are still servicemen of Ukrainian origin living now in Afghanistan. Perhaps some of them have already adopted new conditions of life and belief and speak another language, but their relatives, who hope for a meeting, continue their search and appeal for help from international organizations and statesmen, remain in Ukraine.

It would be an action of goodwill to provide these people with a possibility to establish contacts with their relatives and for them to return home, in the event that they wish to do so. We hope that you will promote this important matter.

Mr. Rabbani, this humane step taken by you would be received by the people of Ukraine with profound gratitude, and would contribute in a good way to the matter of building relations between our states, with possibilities opening wide under the current conditions.

Your Excellency, be assured of my highest respect.

# National Affairs

## Cabinet Tightens Control Over Military Materiel

*LD1203125593 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has passed a resolution envisaging measures to ensure proper control over the export and import of arms, military hardware, separate kinds of raw materials, materials, equipment, and technologies which can be used for the creation of weapons, and other military and special equipment, to ensure observance of Ukraine's international obligations concerning nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems.

Regulations have been approved on a governmental export control commission and its composition. The commission is headed by Vasyl Yevtukhov, Ukraine's vice prime minister. It has the exclusive right to license, allocate, sell, and purchase dual-purpose technologies, equipment and materials, arms and military hardware, spare parts, and military property. The resolution envisages the setting up of an export-technical committee at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, which will be entrusted with performing the functions of a working body for the preparation of documents within the competence of the governmental export control commission and check the fulfillment of the adopted decisions.

The government resolved that information on the export and import of arms, military hardware, separate types of raw materials, other materials, equipment, and technologies which can be used for the creation of weapons, military and special equipment, is secret.

## Kravchuk Interviewed on Political, Oil Situations

*OW1203183593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1528 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrei Pershin, Andrei Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk gave an exclusive interview to Boris Grishchenko, editor of INTERFAX's [IF's] "Presidential Bulletin" [PB], in Kiev. What follows is a complete coverage of the interview.

IF: It is widely believed that the former Soviet republics, now independent states, follow a similar, if not the same, pattern in their development. Can one say that Ukraine goes its own way?

Kravchuk: Aside from general rules which summarize the experience in building a society, there are specific conditions and patterns in the development of every nation. They should by no means be neglected, for it is they that dictate the sequence of stages in development of a particular nation.

Thus Ukraine, like other former Soviet republics, stayed in the framework of the Union for 70 years. But for 350 years Ukraine and Russia were one territorial entity. Consequently, we share one, let us call it Slavic, pattern of development. Whether we like it or not, we should bear in mind our common religion and similarity of national mentalities.

There are also purely Ukrainian specifics. Firstly, our country is situated in the center of Europe, it is a European and only a European state. Secondly, Ukraine is a multi-national state. Large numbers of people of other nationalities live on its soil. For instance, there are 12 million Russians living here.

Ukrainian statehood also has its specifics such as a peasant or cossack republic. These specifics shaped the civic, political, and military-political structure of the country. This process was interrupted by Peter I and Catherine II. If this had not happened, Ukraine could have developed a social model of its own.

It is in the light of Ukraine's historical experience that we are building now a new society from the outset but we are also building a new independent state which is citizenship- rather than nationality-oriented. In our view a Ukrainian is, above all, a man or woman living on Ukrainian soil. His nationality, or ethnic origin, may be for instance, Russian but he lives in Ukraine and so he is its citizen. This is also the case of (the United States of) America. We emphasize this point and are convinced that we are right. Any other approach in a multi-national society is not viable, for such a society could be shattered by ethnic conflicts.

State managerial structures and armed forces are being built in Ukraine along the same lines. In our parliament and government you can see people of various ethnic origins. Nobody asks them if they are Russian or Ukrainian...

Q: Does this approach influence the economic development of independent Ukraine?

A: It certainly does. We cannot build the Ukrainian economy in disregard of its specifics. In particular, heavy industry accounts for 80 percent of Ukraine's national economy. Naturally, the restructuring of this economy requires a specific approach. A recipe that would also work, say, for Moldova can hardly be worked out.

As for the ultimate goal of our efforts, I wish to emphasize that we are building a law abiding democratic independent state, a civilized civic society. This process is going on against the background of our history, economic structure, multi-national society, and its past. We pin the hopes for our future on all these ingredients of an organic whole.

Q: What kind of future is this?

A: Ukraine's future is what I would call a mixed republic. Ukraine has always been closer to a democratic than to a presidential republic. Incidentally, I do not think that there are "purely presidential" republics anywhere in the world. Therefore when I say "a mixed republic" I mean a presidential-and- parliamentarian model.

To put it differently, parliament must be strong enough and possess sufficient counterbalances to make the evolution towards authoritarian rule impossible. I am also sure that a presidential republic must not be tied up with a specific personality. Today's president may be a democrat but who is going to take over from him? Democracy needs solid guarantees.

I do not intend to analyze the Russian experience in this light but I do believe that a presidential republic does not mix well with a federative structure of the state. When presidents were elected in the autonomies, how did it happen that some president is above another?

On the other hand, unduly strong powers must not be vested in parliament which could also become a dictatorship. What could happen is that once deputies are elected, who is above them? Parliament and the Congress are above the president, but who is above the Congress? The same deputies, which means, nobody. And thus such a regime could be born in which there was no higher authority.

In my understanding a "mixed republic" is most of all a balance of powers in the name of true democracy.

Q: Will this emphasis on Ukrainian specifics not set the country and its closest neighbors apart? Ukrainian media and not they alone give prominence today to an "oil war" or "oil whip", etc.

A: When I was Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and a member of the USSR House of Federation in 1990 I arrived at the Kremlin directly from my leave to attend a session of the House. A group of oil industry managers warned then that the industry was on the brink of a disaster. They asked Gorbachev himself for help. Today quite a lot of wells have been closed. The oil industry of the former USSR is in dire straights and we must help it out of this predicament.

The trouble is not only in that, as some say, Russia will have to buy oil and oil products abroad soon. The vast natural riches are abandoned. This is why I feel that the Surgut meeting of the heads of governments was the first but a very important step, useful for the entire Commonwealth. We should see to it that tangible results are forthcoming. This initiative should not be allowed to die. What distresses me is that some of the participants reason like this: "We will invest cash and material into Russian Tyumen but Russia can close the valve any time"...

Q: Do you think there are good reasons for these fears?

A: When officials talk about valves, it is natural that numerous people feel concern over their investments. Incidentally, this is also true of foreign investments in Russia. The same communists call for restoration of the USSR. When assurances are given that nobody will ever touch the valve, everyone who has signed the Surgut documents will not be over-cautious but will act resolutely.

The main question remains the size of shares and strength of the guarantees. Concessions and joint ventures are widely used in the world. If Americans set up joint ventures in Ukraine, why not Ukraine and Russia? We must find new kinds of cooperation, we must act together to protect the Tyumen region. But I will say it again, no ill-conceived statements, especially at the government level, must be made, especially because economics must not be confused with political conditions. Incidentally, fuel prices are also politics.

PB will continue reporting the interview in its later editions.

## Defense Minister Halts Transfer of Officers

*PM1203143593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Anatoliy Polyakov report under "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "Transfer of Officers to Ukraine From CIS Countries Suspended"]

[Text] Kiev—Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, Ukrainian minister of defense, has signed an order temporarily suspending the issuing of papers on the transfer of officers to Ukraine.

One of the points in the order requires that the sending to the Ukrainian Army of officers who have less than three years to go before being transferred to the reserves or who have completed their term of service and possess housing be completely ruled out. Those who do not have Ukrainian citizenship are also deprived of this right.

True, neither the Ministry of Defense nor the militia organs know how officers or ensigns serving thousands of kilometers from Ukraine can obtain citizenship. Obviously, many servicemen will have to say good-bye to the dream of ending their service in their home districts.

## Belarus

### Defense Official Views Border Troop Strength

*LD1303185893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0002 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By BELINFORM correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 13 Mar—The present strength of Belorussia's border guards—8,000—could very soon prove insufficient to cover the country's new state borders with its CIS neighbors. This was stated in an interview with the Belorussian defense ministry newspaper VO SLAVU RODINY by the head of the republic's directorate of border troops, Maj.-Gen. Yevgeniy Bocharov.

Arguing for this, he referred to recent talks with the Ukrainian side at which one of the questions studied was that of creating state borders between the republics. "One would not at all like to see cordons dividing the Slavic states, but there will evidently be a border", Bocharov said. But then Belarus will have to increase its border troops to 11-12 thousand—a heavy burden on the republic's taxpayers.

Bocharov said Belarus has not, of its own initiative, set up a border in any of the areas. Their advent was an adequate response to the actions of adjacent countries. Lithuania and Latvia were the first to start erecting a state border, he said, and "we were simply forced to respond, if our republic's interests were not to suffer."

The General believes that abolishing the border troops today would mean that literally in six months' time Belarus would be left naked and defenseless. In the last ten days alone, border troops on the border with Lithuania had seized and confiscated tens of tonnes of non-ferrous metals and mercury, and more than two million rubles of contraband money.

At the same time, he said, the Belorussian border troops will do all they can to make the process of adaptation to the new border conditions as painless as possible. A large number of checkpoints are being created, including points were a simplified procedure will apply. Crossing will be permitted at any time of the day or night without restriction. The only documents required will be passport or proof of identity.

### Checks Ordered on Military Materiel Leaving Republic

*PM1203112193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

[Correspondent Valeriy Kovalev report: "State of Russian Military Camps in Belarus To Be Strictly Monitored"]

[Text] Minsk—Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy, minister of defense of the Republic of Belarus, has met with the command of the Russian units temporarily stationed on Belarusian territory.

At the meeting the head of the Belarusian military department made a principled assessment of incidents of mismanagement, squandering, and theft of Army property in certain military units.

The meeting's participants were informed of the decree of the republic's Council of Ministers on forming a special commission entrusted with monitoring the state of the military camps which the Russian Army is handing over to the Belarusian side. It was emphasized that organs of the Belarusian KGB, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and customs control have been given instructions to carry out a thorough check on equipment, arms, and material and technical resources being removed from Belarusian territory. Anything not stipulated by the existing interstate agreements will not be allowed to cross the border.

### Shushkevich Said Concealing Letter on Currency Use

*WS1203125093 Minsk RID in Russian 1055 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] At least five members of the Republican Supreme Soviet Presidium have not been acquainted with the text of a letter by eight Supreme Soviet deputies to the Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and the Presidium, suggesting the creation of a committee for the inspection of the use of currency.

According to Deputy [name indistinct], Stanislav Shushkevich has been keeping the letter for more than 10 days, but it still has not been presented to Presidium members. The authors of the letter have emphasized that along with the investigation on the well known case of purchasing medicine, they also proposed to consider the use of currency by top officials.

### Peasant Party Holds Conference, Asks Early Elections

*WS1503122093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Report by Ivan Hlasnis]

[Text] [Hlasnis] The First Peasant Party Conference gathered the party's deputies, representatives of other democratic parties and movements, as well as a Polish Peasant Party delegation. I asked Yevgeniy Lubin, chairman of the Peasant Party National Council, to sum up the results of the conference.

[Begin recording] [Lubin] The Belarusian Peasant Party is a parliamentary party. This means that the main direction of its activity is to prepare and hold elections and then, after its supporters enter administrative structures, to carry out the provisions of its program. The conference was convened to elaborate the main directions of the election program. We have discussed the economic and political situation, the land ownership reform, ways to reorganize kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We have created the editorial committee for the elaboration of the program to be adopted at our congress this fall.

[Hlasnis] What is your approach to the implementation of the land reform?

[Lubin] This issue can even be solved on the basis of the existing legislature. These laws lack precision, yet, they can be used for this goal. Unfortunately, in many areas they are not used at all. This is why we have elaborated our own draft law on land. As you know, our party was actively fighting the so-called collective land property during 1992. Today, the government also agrees that this is a kind of property that does not exist anywhere else in the world. This was an attempt to preserve the kolkhoz-sovkhoz system in its worst form. We suggested that land belonging to cooperatives as well as individual patches be passed to their owners free of charge, with a right to buy and sell. This is about 12 percent of the Republic's land. Besides, if we want to achieve market relations, we must have a land market. This 12 percent of land would create it. According to our proposal, the remaining land should be declared state property and leased to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and farmers for agricultural production. People working on this land for five years will be able to buy it.

[Hlasnis] What are the principal documents adopted by the conference?

[Lubin] The political and economic situations are very tough. In our opinion, nobody is really ruling the economy, and it is moving towards destruction, like a car with no brakes. Something must be done. This is why the Belarusian Peasant Party has addressed other political parties, movements, and all the citizens of Belarus with a declaration. In the declaration we say that the administration is doing nothing to achieve the market economy. In order to do anything in this field, we must change the leadership. Neither the Supreme Soviet nor the government are capable of leading the country out of the crisis, to carry out land reform. Only a change in administration can bring the Belarusian people a hope for an improvement of the situation. This can be obtained legally, in a civilized way. [end recording]

[Hlasnis] The declaration states that the Supreme Soviet chairman should use his constitutional power and at the next session announce the date of the referendum on recalling of people's deputies who are abusing their electors' confidence. This is the point of view of the Belarusian Peasant Party on the current situation in the Republic.

### Communist Party Member Cards Ordered for 30,000 Citizens

*WS1503095093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] Some 30,000 member cards will soon be printed for Belarusian communists. However, Viktor (Chikin) claims that the party has many more supporters. Their exact number will be known after the joint Congress of the Communist Party of Belarus and the Party of Belarusian Communists.

### European Bank Provides $2 Million for Telecommunications

*PM1203153193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Mikhail Shimanskiy Report: "European Bank Helps Belarus"]

[Text] Belarus has received the first $2 million from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the purchase of telecommunications equipment.

In all Belarus will be allocated $35 million for these purposes. This is by no means the only project in the republic financed by the European Bank. During the recent official visit to Minsk by the bank's president, Jacques Attali, a memorandum was signed on mutual understanding between the Belarusian Government and this widely known international financial structure. It provides for a list of specific projects of a long-term nature on both a republic and a regional scale.

And in what projects precisely is the European Bank showing interest? There are 17 such projects, but, Jacques Attali remarked, there are already more than 10 more in the pipeline. These include the development in Belarus of a telecommunications system, the creation of buses under foreign license, prospects for forming the republic's own telex network, and reconstructing the London-Berlin-Warsaw-Minsk-Moscow highway. Problems connected with eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe will not be forgotten either.

The European Bank will help the Belarusian Government with privatization and the structural overhaul of industry and will give technical assistance to the conversion process. In its turn the Belarusian Government intends to present guarantees for investments and to repay credits with interest.

## Moldova

### Gagauz, Dniester Republics Seek Single State

*LD1503115993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the Gagauz republic and the Dniester Moldovan republic have adopted a joint statement stressing the need to set up a new democratic state in the borders of the former Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. It is proposed to construct on the principle of the equality of subjects of the Gagauz republic, the republic of Moldova and the Dniester Moldovan republic.

The statement issued today says that the new state formation should be a member of the CIS, since the break in economic and other ties with the republics of the former Union has led to a sharp decline in the people's standard of living.

It proposes to the president, parliament, and government of Moldova that trilateral talks should be started on the formation of the new state.

### Leader Rejects Declaration

*AU1203193393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Victor Puscasu, vice president of the Moldovan parliament, said that Moldovan leaders reject the joint declaration issued yesterday by the Dniester and Gagauz deputies, in which they request that the country be transformed into a federation, which, apart from Moldova, should also include the so-called Dniester and Gagauz republics.

According to our Chisinau correspondent's report, Mr. Puscasu declared to the press that the establishment of such a federation would cause tension to escalate in that region. He also believes that the respective declaration hampers the reestablishment of peace in the Republic of Moldova.

## Dubasari District 'Intimidated' by Paramilitary Groups

*AU1303180893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2035 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 12/3/1993—Tudor Tabanscic, the vice-president of the cultural society "Transnistria," claims that the population of Lunga and Corjova from the Dubasari district continues to be intimidated by paramilitary formations of the autoproclaimed Dniester Republic. "If in Dorotskaya and Cosnita, the territory controlled by Moldovan police, all trenches were liquidated and all mine fields were discharged to open up the possibility of starting agricultural works then the situation in the zone under Smirnov's supervision would be absolutely different. However, trenches and fortifications were left untouched. Moving across the road you have a definite feeling of being shot." Tudor Tabanscic describes the situation in Lunga as being a very tense one. At noon in the central shop of the village there are no visitors. Nobody works in the gardens or in the courts. On the contrary, there are a lot of armed guardians who intimidate people. The article indicates that individuals are afraid of being shot should someone turn on the light at home and people do not cook because they are afraid unexpected guests might bring danger.

## Russian Embassy Picketed Over Dniester Detainees

*LD1403180193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1745 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau March 14 TASS—Pickets have been staged today in front of the Russian embassy in Chisinau by the Moldovan Christian Democratic People's Front. Around a hundred people gathered at the Russian Embassy demanding the release of their supporters detained during the armed conflict in Dniester region on charges of committing terroristic acts.

The Russian Ambassador to Moldova, Vladimir Plechko, told ITAR-TASS that such requests repeatedly arrived at the Russian Embassy, including those from relatives of the detained.

"For humanity reasons, we have notified about this the authorities of the Dniester region and representatives of the International Committee for the Red Cross," Plechko said.

"A clause on showing mercy to victims was included in a communique, recently signed by Russian and Moldovan presidents. We believe that some political organisations in Moldova are attempting to speculate on the sorrow of those detained in Tiraspol to achieve their own purposes," Plechko said.

### Withdrawal of 14th Army Demanded

*AU1503135293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1045 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—A demonstration was held in Chisinau to support political detainees in separatist prisons of Tiraspol and for the preservation of territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova.

Demonstrators demanded an unconditional release of Ilie Ilascu, now in prison, the leader of the Tiraspol section of the Christian Democratic People's Front and of other political detainees in Transdniester. In front of parliament and the Security Ministry headquarters, slogans were heard like "Down with traitors," "Down with Tiraspolian fascism," as well as anti-communist and anti- presidential ones.

In front of the provisional headquarters of the Russian Federation's Embassy the demonstrators organized a meeting demanding the withdrawal of the 14th Russian Army from the territory of the republic, non-interference in sovereign Moldova's internal affairs and Russia's involvement in actions regarding the release of political detainees in Tiraspol, reads a commentary of the MOLDOVA PRESS.

## Parliament Approves Privatization Program

*AU1403163293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1545 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 13/3/1993—By 187 votes "for" one "against" and seven neutral, the Moldovan Parliament today, approved the programme of privatization. During discussions in Parliament, Visarion Cesuev the chief of the Department for Privatization stated that privatization will begin after three months and will continue for two years. During this time, 33 percent will be privatized by national bonds, 1 percent by national and foreign currency and 7 percent by farmers' patrimonies including their land. In connection with the application of the programme of privatization, Parliament adopted a system of amendments concerning protection from illegal privatization, a list of objects left for partial privatization and will include another agenda concerning problems.

## Parliament Submits Constitution to Nationwide Discussion

*LD1303155193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Moldova's parliament has decided to submit the draft constitution for nationwide discussion. The debates on this document, which continued throughout the past week, ended without results. It has not been possible to adopt the draft constitution, even in the first reading.

## Commentator Views New Constitution, Likelihood of Coup

*MK1303135493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Mar 93 p 3*

[Report by Natalya Prikhodko: "Coup Threat Exists. But It Will Not Necessarily Happen"]

[Text] Anyway, the coup d'etat in Moldova occurred in the summer. So said the paper TSARA [as transliterated] (organ of the Christian Democratic People's Front [CDPF]), describing the replacement of the prime minister at that time (Andrey Sangeli was elected prime minister) as a "procommunist putsch." Although the people did not go and fight the "putschists."

In the winter President Mircea Snegur said he had an intuition that a coup d'etat was in the offing. His intuition was that the increasing calls over the last three months—such as "Let us destroy the 'Snegurists' and 'Sangelists' with all their kin!" or "Two traitors are going around the republic asking people to stick their heads in the yoke of the Soviet empire via a referendum—their deaths are our only salvation!"—are being published and chanted near the president's residence "for a specific reason." Mircea Snegur thought it necessary to warn his fellow citizens about it.

TSARA's was the most excited response. Describing the president's statement as "burning down the 'Moldovan Reichstag'" in order subsequently to carry out reprisals against the opposition, the paper then threatened him with a parliamentary republic. It is amusing that current parliament chairman Petr Luchinskiy has not yet been listed by any of the sides as a hypothetical victim of the hypothetical coup.

The new Constitution—parliament's discussion of the draft has been delayed—will decide whether there will be a legitimate change of power in Moldova. How realistic is the threat of a violent overthrow at the moment? By concluding that it is a possibility, the president was probably responding not only to his own political intuition, but also to practical, up-to-date information from the National Security Ministry, Anatol Tsaranu, chairman of the parliamentary Commission on State Security and Military Affairs, stressed. What data might Moldovan national security ministry staffers have presented to the president?

A letter from "Chernovitskaya Bukovina," reprinted recently by the local papers, preempted the boldest hypotheses. The writer claims that the Romanian security service, in close contact with the CDPF extremist wing, had set up combat groups made up of Moldovan volunteers who had participated in the Dniester Region military conflict. The plan was to use this force to overthrow the president, prime minister, and other leaders of the republic, thus facilitating its reunification with Romania. Just before the fateful hour it is planned to use the gunmen to carry out various acts of terrorism, in particular, against the Dniester Region leadership and the Russian, Ukrainian, U.S., and Turkish missions—the intention being to cause general destabilization...

Anatol Tsaranu asked the national security ministry whether the above facts were true. It is studying them at the moment. Also, on agreement with Romanian colleagues, A. Tsaranu explained, a group of Moldovan security service officers will be going to Romania to ascertain for themselves, on the spot, the presence or absence of the aforementioned terrorist groups, which (one can safely predict) will not be found there. Which by no means rules out, though, the definite concern felt by the Romanian special services over the events taking place in Moldova. Former Moldovan KGB chief Tudor Botnaru once reported to Mircea Snegur on the interest shown, for example, in Moldovan students studying in Romania.

Incidentally, Botnar himself was soon—following the August putsch in Moscow—removed from his post for very vague reasons. "One of the real reasons for my dismissal, probably, was that I knew too much," Tudor Leontyevich told me in October 1991.

The claim by a national security ministry official I know, that various special services are currently trying to get information from the "horse's mouth" about the situation in Moldova, which could at some time acquire a key role in the general arrangement of forces in the Balkans, now seems strange to me. Actually, Anatol Tsaranu observed, the possibility of the notorious coup is governed primarily by the situation in Moldova itself. According to him, in a country with no established democratic traditions, a country which has experienced chronic political instability in recent years (the unresolved Dniester Region and Gagauzia problems have now been aggravated by Chisinau, as a result of the polarization of the supporters of unification and the champions of Moldovan independence), a country going through a severe economic crisis, extraordinary phenomena can be expected. The impetus could be provided by the most ordinary event. But, Tsaranu summed up, the potential for this need not necessarily be realized at all. The threat of a coup d'etat exists, but it is not actually bound to happen.

### State Journalists To Undergo 'Patriotism Exam'

*LD1303024893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1656 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 12 Mar—A temporary commission for inspecting the state media of the Moldovan parliament has proposed the establishment of a sort of "patriotism exam" for journalists working in these media. Before starting work in the Moldovan state press they will have to recognize the integrity and independence of the Republic in writing. A memorandum drawn up by the commission for journalists working for the state also recommends refraining from joining political parties or movements.

According to the Chisinau "BASA-PRESS," the author of these innovations is Tudor Topa, chairman of the temporary parliamentary commission for inspecting the activity of the state press. During the "party leadership of the press" he headed the press section of the Moldovan Central Committee Communist Party.

### Snegur Receives Romanian-Born Canadian Businessmen

*AU1303180793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2035 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 12/3/1993—Mircea Snegur, president of Moldova, today had a meeting with Mihai Molsii, General Director of the Romanian-Canadian Joint-Venture "Strategy" and Ion Gantea, its manager, a native of Cazanesti locality, Telenesti region who is presently a Canadian citizen. Those two businessmen came to Moldova through an invitation from "Investcom" firm with which they intend to create a Moldovan-Romanian-Canadian society. Mircea Snegur acknowledged the projects of the mentioned society which provide for the construction of a drug factory in Chisinau, fitting out a tourist complex in the locality near the Leuseni custom post and the construction of a modern petrol station with non-stop shops etc. When referring to credits which are supposed to be offered, the president of Moldova mentioned that they have to clarify all the aspects of their organisation in order to prevent any speculation. Ion Gantea passed to Mircea Snegur an invitation from members of Romanian Diaspora from Canada for him to visit this country with which, according to the President of Moldova, "we manage to materialize our intentions of collaboration."

### Odessa Authorities Refuse Talks With Ethnic Romanians

*AU1303180993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2035 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 12/3/1993—Odessa regional administration did not accept the proposal to unfold "a round table" which would consider the problems of Bessarabian Romanians in the southern part of Ukraine. The proposal was advanced by the president of the Christian-Democratic Alliance of Romanians from Ukraine (ACDR) located in Odessa, Anatol Cocos. The president thinks that town of Ismail should become a cultural centre for Bessarabian Romanians from the southern Ukraine. They were to discuss during "the round table" points regarding the foundation of a Romanian gymnasium in Ismail and opening a faculty of Romanian philology in the local pedagogical institute as well as Romanian schools and classes in towns Reni, Ismail and villages with Romanian population. ACDR considers it necessary to resume the issue of the unique regional newspaper in Romanian "LUCEAFARUL" and the Romanian variant of the regional newspaper from Reni "DUNALSCHAYA ISKRA" (Danubian Spark). Its issues were suspended this year.

The Alliance proposed to invite to "the round table" representatives of the regional administration and leaders of a regional level from southern Ukraine. More than 140,000 Bessarabian Romanians live there. A similar action unfolded in Ismail on January 30, between local authorities and members of the Alliance. A similar "round table" on a regional level was organized to consider problems of Bessarabian Bulgarians from the southern Ukraine. Stanislav Strijeniuk [name as received], section chief of Odessa regional administration, explained the refusal to initiate a similar action concerning the problems of Romanians by the fact that the ACDR was illegal in Ukraine and in the Odessa region. Anatol Cucos interpreted such an answer as representing a "de facto" refusal by the authorities to interdialogue with representatives of Bessarabian Romanians.

### Parliament Approves Constitution Draft for Publication

*AU1303181093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2035 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 12/3/1993—Today, the Parliament of Moldova approved of the publication in the press of the project of the Constitution of Republic of

Moldova. The alternative constitution which was proposed by the Constitutional Commission received 173 votes, 9 votes against it and 23 abstentions. Variants proposed by different factions will be published together with articles which led to disagreements amongst the clubs of Parliament. Long debates developed in connection with article 8 which declares that "the Republic of Moldova is a national state formed by Moldovans (Romanians)." It is important to stress that the judicial status of regions from the east and south of Moldova requires to be established through a special constitutional law. The project of the Constitution of Moldova, after being discussed by the whole population, will then be presented for approval by Parliament in order to be further exposed to a referendum.

## President Holds Meeting on Battling Organized Crime

*AU1403163393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1545 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 113/3/1993—Because of the political instability in the southern regions of the republic and insufficient coordination of the activity of prosecutors, Moldova could be transformed into a zone with arms and drug traffickers under the control of criminal groups, according to those who spoke today during a meeting convoked by the President of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, states a communique of the press service of the presidency. Groups of the Mafia tend to unite with state officers as much as possible, adds the communique. Those present at the meeting were Petru Lucinschi, the president of the Parliament, Prime-Minister Andrei Sangheli and leaders of ministries and state departments. The participants at the meeting underlined the necessity of applying extraordinary measures to fight crime and to establish order and discipline which is a characteristic feature of a legitimate state.

President Snegur was supported by the audience when he proposed to organise a meeting of representatives from the Prosecution which would finally achieve the adequate background for an efficient defeat of corruption, the mafia and crime in general.

## Non-Recognition of Bessarabian Church Appealed

*AU1503135493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1048 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—The Executive Committee of the Christian-Democratic Party [PCD] of Moldova addressed an appeal to the president of the Republic of Moldova in which it shows that the refusal of the current government to recognise the Metropolitan Seat of Bessarabia (ancient rite), which restarted its activity in a canonically legal way, in accordance with the decision of the Romanian Orthodox Church Synod, is a violation of human rights and of the commitments made by the Republic of Moldova on signing the universal declaration on human rights.

The document demands the registration of the Bessarabian Orthodox Church Metropolitan Seat (ancient rite) and no more persecutions of priests and of the faithful supporting the Metropolitan Seat of Bessarabia.

The Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Party is to make an appeal on international bodies in relation with the violation of human rights in the Republic of Moldova, shows the appeal broadcasted by the MOLDOVA PRESS.

## Kazakhstan

### Nazarbayev Issues Decree on Privatization

*LD1303142493 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 1100 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] To guarantee the stable functioning of state enterprises and commercialization of their activity, to accelerate the denationalization and privatization processes, and to retain control within the state sector of the economy in the process of carrying out reform, I decree the following:

1. The State Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan for State Property and its territorial committees are to begin reorganizing state enterprises and organizations (except state farms), industrial and industrial-scientific associations (hereafter-enterprises), and also closed-type joint stock companies (where more than 50 per cent of the ownership capital is state-owned) into open-type joint stock companies. In accordance with the present decree, state enterprises which are included in the program of minor privatization, enterprises with shared foreign investment (joint ventures), organizations financed by the state budget, and enterprises, the privatization of which is prohibited by the national program of denationalization and privatization in the Republic of Kazakhstan in the years 1993-95, are not subject to reorganization. The aforementioned work is to be finished before 31 December 1993.

2. The founders of the open-type joint stock companies which are formed in accordance with the present decree, are, from the side of the State, the State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan and its territorial committees.

3. Reorganization of enterprises into joint stock companies is to be carried out by working commissions created at every enterprise in accordance with regulations on reorganization of state enterprises into open-type joint stock companies. Personal responsitiblity for preparing and timely presentation of appropriate documents to the state Committee for State property of the Republic of Kazakhstan lies on managers of enterprises.

4. Enterprises which are members of state concerns, associations, and other voluntary associations of state enterprises (hereafter known as associations) are to define before 1 August 1993 legal and organizational forms of associations in accordance with the current legislation, reorganizing them into open-type joint stock companies simultaneously defining founder enterprises' amount of deposits into their capital funds. State property, previously handed over to the balances of the aforementioned associations by the organs of the state administration, may be deposited into the capital fund by the organs of the State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan on condition of reorganizing associations into open-type joint stock companies. The procedure for state enterprises and committees for state property to deposit their property investments into capital funds of joint stock companies created in accordance with the present decree is determined by the state Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

5. It is determined that shares formed in accordance with the present decree of joint stock companies which are government-owned, cannot be handed over or sold without the consent of the State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

6. The administration of a reorganized enterprise, appointed before, is delegated with full competence for managing a joint stock company until the first meeting of shareholders of the founded joint stock company is held, where new management bodies in accordance with the current legislation are elected. The joint stock enterprise president's responsibilities are delegated to the manager of the reorganized enterprise before the shareholders' first meeting.

7. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Kazakhstan is to confirm the regulations on reorganizing state enterprises into open- type joint stock companies, a model statute of the joint stock company, and a model contract with the president of a joint stock company.

8. The State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan is to carry out enforceable enactments in accordance with its competence guaranteeing fulfilment of the present decree and is also to work out a program of state enterprise flotation.

9. The State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan together with the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the State Committee for Statistics and Analysis of the Republic of Kazakhstan are to set up a central bureau for the registration of joint stock companies and economic associations within a two-month period and confirm regulations about this bureau.

10. The State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan together with the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the State Committee for Statistics and Analysis of the Republic of Kazakhstan are to publish before 1 July 1993 registers of enterprises subject to being reorganized into open-type joint stock companies in accordance with the present decree.

11. Monitoring of the fulfilment of the present decree is to be delegated to the deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Committee for State Property of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Z. S. Karibzhanov.

12. In connection with the adoption of the present decree, the decree of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On Measures for Activating Work for Denationalizing and Privatizing Property in the Material Manufature Industries" of 28 April 1992, number 732, is to be abolished.

13. The present decree is to come into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev, Alma-Ata
[Dated] 5 March 1993

## New Border Guard Unit To Cooperate With Russian Forces

*PM1203165993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Viktor Kharlamov report under "Brief and Clear" rubric: "Kazakhstan Will Protect Border"]

[Text] Kazakhstan has created its own border troops, which have begun guarding the state border between the republic and China. At the same time, as Colonel General Vladimir Shlyakhtin, commander of Russia's border troops, has reported, an agreement on cooperation and collaboration on border issues between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan was signed in Alma-Ata recently. It provides, in particular, for assistance in manning, in the training of officer cadres, in material and technical supplies for border troops, and in the social protection of servicemen.

## President's Eurasian Unity Plan Analyzed

*MK1303113493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 3*

[Vyacheslav Ovlev report: "Continental Asia. Russia Could Support Kazakhstan's Initiatives"]

[Text] Proposals made by the Kazakhstan president in his address to the 47th UN General Assembly session (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA of 9 October 1992) have so far evoked only a reserved response. And yet they held more than just the promise of large- scale diplomatic initiatives by the young state in the future. Underlying them are the country's real interests arising from the acute problems it is facing. Take the question of water resources, if nothing else.

So what are the reasons for the reserved reaction? One lies in the fact that some of the measures proposed were declarative and abstract. If we study them, it is easy to spot the continuity in their approach to international affairs, "the birthmarks" of the Soviet diplomatic mentality. The grandiose picture painted by N. Nazarbayev depicting a four-stage process of rapprochement between European and Asian countries, the maintenance of their collective security initially using a conference for collaboration and confidence-building measures in Asia, then a security and cooperation council along the lines of the CSCE, and finally a joint transcontinental conference for security and cooperation in Eurasia by the years 2000-2005 recalls the initiatives that used to emanate from Moscow—Brezhnev's collective security in Asia, Gorbachev's idea for giving a new lease on life to international cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and so forth.

The Kazakhstan diplomatic department's high-flown program does not square very well with the pattern of small steps—consistently overcoming obstacles, untying knots, solving long-festering problems—that has now taken hold in international relations. This is, if you wish, diplomacy at the microlevel. Its opposite—macrodiplomacy—in addition hardly accords with the traditions of Asian peoples who have been accustomed to move gradually, in a step- by-step fashion.

But if what is conventionally regarded as the West and the even more fictitious East have found reasons effectively to ignore Nazarbayev's proposals, does it mean that they are entirely unworthy of attention, that they cannot be refined and "materialized" in some form? I do not believe so. The Kazakhstan initiatives echo a number of significant trends in world development. And if we have recalled the declarations of the Soviet leadership, let us not forget that they, particularly the disarmament program, albeit excessively and with propagandist distortions, incorporated the realities of this age and have generally passed the test of time.

As for the Kazakhstan proposals, they reflect in the first place the currently visible shift toward regional aspects in interstate collaboration. Regionalism is becoming or has already become the main form of arranging international space, supplanting the world's division into global political systems.

Obviously, regional groupings were important during the Cold War too, but that importance was still subordinate to other factors, and while carving up the world, politics has not always heeded the factor of geographical proximity.

A few more words about geography. It is well known that from the end of the 15th century seas and oceans played the role of the main connecting link holding the world together. Regional systems had relied on them ever since. The most vivid examples are the Asia- Pacific region and also the Europe-Atlantic area. Groupings and regional alliances now, however, are emerging based on the combination of sea and land routes, or even on the supremacy of the latter. Take, for instance, the "triple alliance" in North America (the United States, Canada, and Mexico), the united Europe, and the various projects for Central European associations.

The ideas of regional cooperation in Central Asia contained in the Kazakhstan president's message appear to follow up that same trend of closer collaboration on "continental" expanses. But it does not mean that the role of maritime routes has declined. By all appearances, they remain the most advantageous economically, i.e. relatively cheap, high-capacity, and fast means of freight transportation. The underlying reason for the shift is different: It is the population growth during this century in all the continents' inland areas, including the largest—Eurasia.

If we look at the Eurasian population map at the beginning of the 20th century, it is easy to notice that coastal areas affected by the monsoons of the Pacific and Indian oceans had already been fairly densely populated. China and India (400 and 300 million people respectively) by far surpassed other areas in terms of population, excepting Western Europe, exposed to the Atlantic. In the century that ensued the populations of Western Europe, China, and India have grown between two-and-a-half and three times. At the same time the population of Eurasia's inland regions grew much faster (by five or six times and more)—among other reasons, because of a mass resettlement from European Russia to its Asian part.

In this demographic shift one can discern the prerequisites for a new role for Eurasia's inland and Arctic areas. Eurasia is known to constitute, in the words of classical political geographer H. Makkinder [as transliterated], "a world island," the largest "slice of land." Man is increasingly assimilating this slice, overcoming formidable obstacles and overcoming immense problems. The limits of extensive, and expensive, development are evident. Therefore it is essential to use intensive methods as much as possible to save labor, capital, and material resources.

International cooperation is badly needed in this area; indeed, it is simply indispensable. Viewed from this perspective, Kazakhstan's proposals do not seem too abstract or limited by propaganda considerations. N. Nazarbayev was also justified in supporting the main innovation of the new UN secretary general regarding preventive diplomacy measures. Solving economic problems requires peace and stability. International preventive diplomacy, however, is unlikely to work miracles, but its potential should be tested, without forgetting about other methods of reaching agreement.

What looks most amorphous and vulnerable in Kazakhstan's proposals, I repeat, is its pan-Asian motifs. The very concept of Asia is too loose and can embrace both the Asia-Pacific area, including Australia and Oceania, and the entire Near and Middle East. Instead of focusing on the limitless Asia it would be more advisable to focus on its continental or inland part. Had Kazakhstan's diplomacy concentrated its efforts on the aspects of the proposed measures that deal with the prospects for a regional economic commonwealth, Russia could have supported it in the most active fashion. This is because movement in that direction, while fully in line with the plans for strengthening ties within the CIS, could have the effect of creating a wide collaboration belt from Belarus in the West to China in the East that would include besides Russia and Kazakhstan all or most Central Asian countries, and also Mongolia and later some other states. Membership in the large "latitudinal" organization would not preclude the possibility of participation in other regional communities and alliances.

I have already had an opportunity to point to the fact (see NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA of 26 September 1992) that the scheme of regional economic and political relationships that is emerging right before our eyes appears to be based on the principles of "multiple rings" of states mutually superimposing on and intersecting each other, and tied together to various degrees. Aside from the CIS, there is the Organization of Black Sea Countries operating in Eurasia, and consultations are under way to set up a Caspian Sea association. The five ex-Soviet republics of Central Asia have stated their willingness to establish closer economic relations. "Fraternal feelings" have been demonstrated by the so-called "Turkic states." Furthermore, since 1992 ten predominantly Muslim Central Asian and Middle Eastern countries constitute the Organization of Economic Cooperation. The continental Asian community could become a new element in the emerging system of interstate collaboration.

Again, Kazakhstan's idea of an Asian conference is not so bad for a general framework, but it would be desirable for its implementation to be accompanied by the formation, preferably at a faster pace, of a new economic commonwealth and a whole range of "co-development communities." Clearly, this is easier said than done. Forging economic ties between the continental Asian states will require not only micro-ideas and microdiplomacy, but also microeconomics, in other words the ability to regulate the investment climate by taking specific measures for the promotion of business contacts and the productive use of capital. For the moment, though, questions and doubts in that area prevail.

## Agreement on MIA's Concluded With Pakistan

*LD1303141093 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Today Deputy Foreign Minister Kasymzhomart Tokayev met with Riaz Mohammad Khan, ambassador of Pakistan to Kazakhstan. The diplomat was informed about the decree from President Nursultan Nazarbayev on the formation of a commission to search for and release servicemen who have gone missing without trace or been captured. During the conversation agreement was reached on cooperation of the parties in searching for servicemen who went missing without trace from Kazakhstan during the war in Afghanistan. The progressive nature of the development of Kazakhstan-Pakistan relations was noted with satisfaction; this was also confirmed by the first session of the mixed commission for commercial, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation, which was held in Islamabad in (?December).

## Kyrgyzstan

### Akayev Calls For Broadening Ties With Iran

*LD1203150493 Tehran IRNA in English 1415 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Bishkek, March 12, IRNA—Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, here Friday [12 March] called for broadening of Tehran-Bishkek relations in various fields.

He made call in a meeting with the first Iranian ambassador to the newly-independent republic, Morteza Tavassoli [name as received] who offered his credentials to Akayev.

Tavassoli in return expressed Iran's readiness to promote bilateral relations and wished success for the Kyrgyz Government and nation in leaving behind the current critical situation.

Tavassoli briefed Akayev on principles of Iran's foreign policy and underlined Tehran's support for world Muslims and deprived as well as liberation of Palestine and Qods [Jerusalem].

### President Akayev Receives Russian Ambassador

#### Concern for Russian Language Conveyed

*OW1203213493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian ambassador to Kyrgyzstan Mikhail Romanov has voiced concern about the future of the Russian language in Kyrgyzstan. He was speaking on behalf of the Russian-speaking population of Kyrgyzstan at a meeting with President Askar Akayev in Bishkek on Friday [12 March].

The ambassador delivered to President Akayev a personal message from the Russian President Boris Yeltsin containing the idea of a special status for the Russian language in the draft of Kyrgyzstan's Constitution.

Last year the parliament of Kyrgyzstan turned down President Akayev's proposal for declaring the Russian language as a means of inter-ethnic communication in Kyrgyzstan. Currently, Kyrgyz is the sole official language in the republic.

#### Cooperation 'of Vital Significance'

*LD1203161693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek March 12 TASS—Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Mikhail Romanov handed over a personal message to Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev from Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

During the conversation they discussed problems of the Russian- speaking population in Kyrgyzstan, questions related to the creation of a Kyrgyz-Russian (Slavonic) university and prospects of activities of enterprises connected with Russia.

President Akayev emphasised that the cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and Russia is of vital significance for Kyrgyzstan. Concluding the talks the president expressed a hope that popular wisdom and common sense will enable our peoples to maintain friendship bequeathed to us by our ancestors.

### Kulov Implicated in Commodity Sales Scandal

*PM1203142393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Aleksandr Ryabushkin report: "Bronze Statues and Copper Wire Sold to China"]

[Text] Bishkek—A scandal has erupted in Bishkek over multimillion reexport deals in which Vice President Feliks Kulov has been implicated. He lavishly issued licenses to commercial structures for the export to China of nonferrous and ferrous metals, equipment, fertilizers, and other goods not produced in the republic. This activity has already begun to affect Kyrgyzstan's economic relations with Russia and neighboring states.

I have before me dozens of documents bearing the vice president's own signature and I am trying to work out how they have benefited Kyrgyzstan and its people. I shall quote just a few examples. Take the license permitting the "Salamalik-film" movie company to export 1,000 tonnes of electrical engineering copper and around 7,000 tonnes of aluminum to China. The industrious Chinese will turn those raw materials into finished goods which they will sell (maybe to us)—but at world prices. What did the republic receive in exchange for the exported nonferrous metals? Sugar, apparently, but it seems that we have already consumed it. Meanwhile our own Kaindinskiy Cable Plant is standing idle—it has had no copper for a month now. Only recently its output was bought by many countries.

The reexport bug has migrated from the shores of the Baltic to the mountains of Tyan Shan and has bitten many commercial enterprises and mafia structures. People in our country are stealing trolleybus cable, bronze statues from parks, and aluminum fences. In Bishkek and other cities and villages the construction of housing and schools has virtually ceased —there are no fittings, timber, or other materials. But to judge from the customs documents, all these assets are surplus to the republic's requirements, which is why they are being exported. Tens of thousands of tonnes of fertilizers have made their way along the twisting mountain roads into the neighboring state. Meanwhile we have nothing to "treat" our own fields with. Hence the prospects for the fall harvest are very grim.

But what is most shocking is the reexport of large trucks. Neighboring provinces of China have replaced their vehicle fleet at virtually giveaway prices. Meanwhile the republic will have to do likewise—but again at world prices. The price of KamAZ and MAZ trucks has risen sharply of late. But they will have to be bought. Over 90 percent of the republic's freight moves by road.

The consequences of this unthinking foreign economic policy—in which, to judge from the documents, other Kyrgyzstan officials also actively participated—will undoubtedly affect relations with Russia and neighboring states. According to information from informed sources, Moscow is already holding back a 75-billion-ruble credit promised to Kyrgyzstan. Other republics have tightened up their customs procedures.

To this scandalous story it only remains to add that the Kyrgyzstan parliament has already examined the question of the sale of weapons to Tajikistan authorized by Vice President F. Kulov. Now, presumably, there will be new hearings.

### Communists Hold Congress in Bishkek 13 Mar

*OW1303164093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [13 March] in Bishkek the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan, which has declared itself the legal successor of the former republican Communist Party, opened its congress. It is expected that the congress will determine the final name of the party, adopt the party charter and program, and develop a package of Communist proposals to overcome the economic crisis.

According to available information, currently Kyrgyzstan's Communist Party unites 8,000-10,000 people.

## Tajikistan

### Official on Defense Capability, Border Incursions

*OW1203190393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1528 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrei Pershin, Andrei Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajik Deputy Prime Minister Mukhammad Said Ubaydullayev, who is in charge of the republic's law enforcement bodies, told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview that the Tajik government had been informed that some armed detachments in Afghanistan which were outside the control of that country's government, were planning to burst through the border into Tajik territory. However, the Tajik government possesses enough ground and air forces to rebuff any such attempts, he said. Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan, he said, was guarded by Russian forces, special brigades of the Tajik National Security Committee, and Tajik Defense Ministry forces.

The Tajik government, Ubaydullayev said, had sent a note of protest to the Afghan government in connection with increasing attempts to trespass the border. In particular, the Tajik government says in the note that, if such attempts continued, it would relieve itself from responsibility for the consequences.

The Deputy Prime Minister said the situation in the Ramit Gorge and Garm District, where government forces had recently fought opposition detachments, was now quiet and under complete government control. Although some small armed groups remained in the Garm Valley and were still resisting government forces, they posed no serious danger since the civilian population also took part in fighting them, he said.

Ubaydullayev said humanitarian aid had started arriving in those regions. Thus, on Wednesday [10 March] Komsomolabad received more than 300 tonnes of food, and on Thursday Garm and Tavildara had 150 tonnes of food each, and 50 tonnes of flour, rice, and sugar are to be sent to the Ramit Gorge.

The Deputy Premier also said the government had no doubts about its ability to maintain control of the armed detachments of the Tajik Popular Front. He commended Popular Front chairman Sangak Safarov, who was making efforts to ensure this.

IF Note: On Friday, Safarov is going to speak on Tajik television. He is expected to call on all armed detachments in the republic to surrender their arms and recognize the authority of the government.

Ubaydullayev denied reports to the effect that tension had increased in Dushanbe. He said the reason why the capital's streets were patrolled more carefully, and all those entering or leaving the city were checked more closely (there are 47 checkpoints in the city these days, 32 of them operating round the clock) was that the parliament chairman's decrees on a state of emergency, a curfew, and the surrender of illegally held arms were too often disregarded. In the early hours of March 4, he said, additional troops were brought into the city. "Everyone should know that nobody but legitimate authorities can control the capital," he said.

The Deputy Prime Minister said that, on Thursday, bus services linking Dushanbe, Komsomolabad, and Garm were put back into operation. By government decree refugees can travel free of charge. "No measures will be taken against any civilian refugees except for those who started the civil war in Tajikistan," Ubaydullayev said.

### Border With Afghanistan Reinforced

*LD1503095293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0838 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[By KHOVAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe March 15 TASS—The whole of the Tajik-Afghan border is being effectively reinforced with active assistance of Russia, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, chairman of Tajik parliament Imamali Rakhmanov said at a meeting with Nurek hydroengineering construction workers and other residents. In his opinion, this should put an end to the violations of the state border, which have become more frequent of late.

"We have enough resources to ensure the safety of the republic and its residents," Rakhmanov stressed. However, the stabilisation of the situation is now being hampered by the gangs operating in the republic. Posing as popular front fighters, they engage in plunder, killings and looting. About 80 such armed groups were captured in Dushanbe alone. Law enforcement agencies arrested 300 people who will be punished in accordance with the law. According to Rakhmanov, their main task is to achieve nationwide accord as soon as possible and to restore the national economy destroyed by the civil war. About 150,000 people were left homeless in Tajikistan. Rakhmanov said they were doing all they could for creating normal living and working conditions for the people.

## Russian Commander Comments

*PM1503100593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 7*

[Interview with Major General Vitaliy Gritsan, commander of Russian border troops in Tajikistan, by special correspondents Vladimir Berezovskiy and Vladimir Tyurkin, datelined Dushanbe-Moscow, date not given; followed by "Stop Press" item citing ITAR-TASS report on Tajik Foreign Ministry protest to Government of Afghanistan: "General Gritsan: 'I Won't Let Them Set the Border on Fire'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Dushanbe-Moscow—Major General Vitaliy Gritsan, despite his busy schedule and abrupt manner, is considerate to unexpected visitors, treating them to coffee. And it is not his fault that, having agreed to talk with your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondents, he kept us waiting several hours before receiving us—there is a war in the country and UAZ trucks and Volga cars keep rolling up to the headquarters of the Russian border troops in Dushanbe. Occasionally we get a glimpse of a general's shoulder board, then a mink-fur cap dictated by local winter fashion; but green service caps turn up more frequently. The computer bleeps, and the telephone rings irritatingly with the latest report—"Three hundred gunmen are preparing to cross the Pyandzh. What are your instructions?" This is how we conduct the interview—with breaks for command and control of the troops.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Russian border troops are guarding the borders of other people's states. How do you feel about this?

[Gritsan] I am a military man, my job is to carry out orders and not get into politics. Moscow has set the task, I am fulfilling it.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] If it isn't a secret, how is this worded?

[Gritsan] Close the border and prevent the emergence of bandit formations, terrorists, weapons, drugs, and contraband while observing neutrality and refraining from interference in the republic's internal affairs.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Well, to us this looks like a task with a political slant.

[Gritsan] Think what you like. We are primarily here to defend Russia. Right now we have no other borders. We will not be able to leave Central Asia before a border has been established from the Altay to the Caspian Sea. In other words, not in the immediate future. Sooner or later we will have to do this, but not right away. Where is poverty-stricken Russia to find the billions—and believe me, the cost will run to many billions—needed to equip the 3,500-km length of this border. Border troops detachments, subunits, barracks, headquarters, substations, mess facilities, apartments blocks, water and sewerage provision, communications facilities, cables... Do we steal it?

If we leave here today, next-door neighbors armed with assault rifles will become a daily phenomenon in Russia tomorrow. Weapons and munitions are pouring in from Afghanistan at an alarming rate! Today we are catching at least 80 percent of it. But how much we stop by the mere fact of our being here is hard to say. After all, there are no other obstacles between us and Moscow, nor will there be in the future. Give a militiaman two cartridges and he will let through a crate, give him a Kalashnikov improved assault rifle and he will let through a KamAZ truck laden with assault rifles.

And there's more. When the civil war flared up last year and there were massive Tajik casualties, practically all the Russians who could leave did so. But, you know, there are also some people who will not be going anywhere. I think they number at least 250,000. By closing the border to Afghan mujahidin and Tajik gunmen, we are also protecting Russian speakers. Those who are over 50 and have nowhere to go are relying entirely on us and the 201st Division. At the slightest pretext they call me and send a deputation saying "Vitaliy Fedorovich, is it true that you're abandoning us?"

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] But what if, God forbid, you really do leave?

[Gritsan] We will protect them and transport them to Russia. We will ferry all Russians to two regional centers, organize impregnable refugee camps, and repel with all our might any desire anyone might have to threaten these people. We have sufficient strength and resources.

Let me be clearly understood—first, we are threatening nobody, and second, we are talking about a one-off operation, not about perpetuating our military presence here. The issue of millions of Russian speakers in the new Commonwealth countries should be resolved amicably and by political means. But we will not leave our own people in the lurch.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] With Russia and Russians the position is clear. But how do the Tajiks regard us?

[Gritsan] Very well. They are a straightforward people, and their leadership is straightforward too. We have found a common language with parliament chairman Emomali Rakhmonov and other leaders. They realize perfectly well that were it not for us acting as a restraining factor, gangs would pour over the border and an all-out war would be unleashed which could envelop the whole of Central Asia—nor would it stop there.

And how do you think we were able to congratulate the women working in our forces on International Women's Day—mainly the wives of officers and warrant officers? I issued a directive on gifts, but was informed that the coffers were empty. We appealed to the republic leadership. In an instant the problem was resolved, even though they themselves do not have a lot of money to spare. They immediately allocated 1.6 million rubles, and in all regiments, battalions, and subunits we were able to give every one of our 1,100 women between Pyandzh and Murgab perfume "on behalf of the service."

There are other factors as well. We are a barrier to Islamic extremism, and local sane-minded Tajiks are perfectly correct in understanding this. But Afghanistan today is a state without a state from which we can expect everything and anything: The sweetest dream of many broke mujahidin is to live off the fat of Tajikistan. Things are easier for the Murgab detachment, which is guarding the border with China.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] But nevertheless, what on earth is happening on the other side of the Pyandzh? People are saying that hordes of mujahidin, gunmen, and terrorists have massed there and are planning mass incursions into Tajikistan at the end of March in order to take revenge for their military defeat.

[Gritsan] Let me state in a responsible manner that there will be no mass incursion, although, of course, certain hotheads could get across regardless of the obstacles placed in their way. We are guarding the border and we remain in control of it. Rumors of "hordes" are exaggerated. For several days now we have been keeping tabs on a group of 300 gunmen who are preparing to storm the Pyandzh....

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Is this situation normal? You're not getting edgy about it?

[Gritsan] But this is fairly commonplace. The first group, however, will be met in the appropriate fashion.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Will you shoot to kill?

[Gritsan] Not necessarily. This depends on the intruders. But my people have an order to use all means in taking action against any intruders who put up a fight. On our territory, of course. If someone manages to slip back to where they came from, we will not fire after them.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Are there often casualties?

[Gritsan] War is war. But there are very rarely any casualties on our side, and these are mainly caused by carelessness, by a certain inescapable Russian goodnaturedness. And discipline is not what is was, either.

As far as the Afghans are concerned, that is their problem. Afghan field commanders have now become border commissars, that is to say officers empowered to investigate border conflicts. We do not take the blame upon ourselves, we call them out in the proper manner using conventional signaling so that they can note what has happened and collect the bodies. That is to say we hoist a flag in an agreed place and three to four hours later we receive our guests from the other side of the river. We know our manners and politely invite them wherever it is necessary to go. An interpreter explains: Your people violated the border in such-and-such a place, this is where the confrontation took place, and this is where the bodies were. Our guest glances over everything with an experienced eye, looking to see how and where his partner in crime met his death, kicks him and says "To a dog a dog's death," looks at him sort of tenderly, and leaves in a cloud of dust.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Well, at least the proprieties are observed....

[Gritsan] They won't be able to provoke us into leaving even a single corpse on their side of the river [Sprovotsirovat nas khotya by na odin trup na ikh storone ne udastsya]. I don't play against the rules, and I am trying to prevent them from doing so. Moreover, along the entire length of the Afghan border it is here, from our side of the Pyandzh, that the only road runs from the remote Pamir regions of Tajikistan into the heart of the country and abroad. You could not imagine a more vulnerable spot. Therefore I won't let them set the border on fire.

**Stop Press**

The Tajik Foreign Ministry, ITAR-TASS reports, has sent a protest note to the Afghan Government expressing its concern at the continuing attempts to violate the state border of Tajikistan by the neighboring state.

On 6 March, the note says, a group of armed persons attempted to break across the border. Another attempt to illegally cross the border was made in the very same sector a day later. Following a short clash between the intruders and border troops, the intruders were detained.

## Rakhmonov Signs 10 Agreements During PRC Visit

### Dushanbe-Beijing Air Route Planned

*PM1203163193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 3*

[A. Kabannikov report under general heading: "Around the World"]

[Text] Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov is in China. This is his first official visit abroad in his present capacity. China and Tajikistan have signed a joint declaration and 10 cooperation agreements on the results of the talks. They have announced their intention to open a Dushanbe-Urumqi-Beijing air route. China will grant Tajikistan humanitarian aid and credits to purchase Chinese goods to the value of approximately $5 million. According to members of the Tajik delegation, questions of military cooperation or of China's participation in building Tajikistan's armed forces, which were set up last month, or in peacemaking missions on the territory of this state were not raised or discussed.

### Delegation Returns to Dushanbe 11 Mar

*LD1203173093 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] A state delegation of the Republic of Tajikistan led by Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet, returned to Dushanbe 11 March. The delegation visited the PRC from 8 to 11 March at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkun.

During the first meeting between the high-ranking Chinese and Tajik delegations, the sides exchanged views on issues of bilateral relations as well as on international issues which especially concern the two countries.

Imamali Rakhmonov met and held talks with Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; PRC President Yang Shangkun; and Li Peng, chairman of the PRC State Council. The meetings were held in a friendly and practical atmosphere.

Members of the Tajik delegation also met with their Chinese counterparts, heads of ministries and departments, large enterprises and organizations, and signed several important and useful documents and protocols of cooperation in various spheres.

The first foreign trip by Imamali Rakhmanov to the PRC was concluded successfully. Before the end of his visit, Imamali Rakhmanov visited Urumqi city, the administrative centre of Xinjiang and the Uygur autonomous region. There he stated that he is satisfied with the results of his visit. He stressed that the signed documents will further strengthen relations between the two countries and cooperation between China and Tajikistan.

At Dushanbe Airport, Imamali Rakhmanov and members of the delegation were welcomed by Dustiyev, first deputy chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet: [name indistinct], Ubaydullayev, and Mukhtashyev, vice chairmen of the Tajik Council of Ministers; Sangak Safarov, chairman of the Tajik National Front; and other officials.

### Rakhmanov Reviews PRC Visit

*OW1203184493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1527 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrei Pershin, Andrei Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Parliament Speaker Imamali Rakhmanov has told INTERFAX that China fully supported the Tajik government's policies and would contribute to its efforts to stabilize the situation in the republic. Commenting on Thursday's [11 March] official visit by members of the Tajik leadership to Beijing, Rakhmanov announced that more than 11 joint documents had been signed. One of the most important he described as a political declaration setting out the directives for the development of bilateral relations.

Rakhmanov said that the Tajik delegation had been given a "most ceremonial and cordial" welcome at the very highest level by the Chinese hosts. He said that meetings with the head of the State Council, the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic and the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party had been full and productive. China had promised to grant Tajikistan 30 Mn [million] yuan worth of technical credit at 4

interest to be paid back within 5 years. This money, Rakhmanov said, would be used to purchase food and children's clothing.

Rakhmanov stressed while describing the delegation's visit to the city of Nantong, the capital of a free economic zone, that he had been impressed most of all by the achievements of Chinese farmers whose rural cooperatives and leasing enterprises produce several harvests per year. The problems concerning youth migration from the countryside to towns and cities had been eliminated, Rakhmanov said, because of the good living conditions for farmers. Tajikistan had much to learn from here, he continued, and said that the Tajik government would conduct a similar experiment in one of its regions after making it a free economic zone.

The Tajik speaker also said that a number of joint Tajik-Chinese enterprises would shortly be set up in Tajikistan itself. These would be textile enterprises processing mainly cotton. An agreement on setting up a Chinese dye-works in a Tajik textile mill already existed, he said.

Rakhmanov said that the Tajik parliament would meet next week to give the government specific directives for putting the agreements reached in China into effect.

Regarding the forthcoming spring festival of Navruz on March 21 the head of parliament announced that around a thousand representatives from all over the republic had been invited to Dushanbe. "The approach of Navruz in Tajikistan traditionally means that all bad feeling is left behind in the old year and that only good feeling should accompany the new," Rakhmanov stressed. He said that the Tajik government had timed the kurultay—the conference of representatives from all regions of the republic—to coincide with the festival. The kurultay would discuss agrarian problems before the beginning of the spring sowing work.

"The government will do everything it can to ensure that the Navruz is a genuinely festive event. The nation is very tired after a destructive war," the Tajik leader said.

## U.S. Diplomatic Mission Returns to Dushanbe

*OW1303163293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [12 March] the employees of the U.S. diplomatic mission arrived in Dushanbe and took up their duties. The same day the U.S. Ambassador to Tajikistan Stanley Escudero met with the Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov.

The American mission left Dushanbe in October, 1992, due to the escalation of the armed conflict in the republic and the difficult political situation in the capital.

## Prosecutor Sues To Halt Activity of Islamic, Other Groups

*OW1403175593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1624 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Dushanbe Public Prosecutor Salomitdin Sharopov filed a suit in a city court to stop the activities of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Islamic party Rebirth, and the popular movement Rastokhez. He believes these organizations are responsible for unleashing the civil war in the republic.

A month and a half ago Tajikistan's Prosecutor's Office brought charges against the leaders of these parties for plotting an armed seizure of power, the organization of illegal armed formations, and murder.

It is believed that the supporters of these political organizations make up the roots of the oppositional formations which are conducting an armed conflict against the current Tajik powers.

## * Tajik Muslim Cleric Alleges Genocidal Plot by Communists

*93AE0377A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 3 Mar 93 p 9*

[Article by 'Abdallah al-Hajj: "Tajikistan's Chief Cleric Talks to AL-HAYAH About Circumstances of Communists' Return to Power; Points Out Violations to Which Men and Women Are Subjected in Various Parts of Country"]

[Text] Jeddah—Tajik Muslim Leader and Chief Cleric Turajonzoda has warned of a plot to annihilate his country's Muslims. He has talked to AL-HAYAH about the violations to which Muslims, including women, are subjected at the hands of Communist militias. He also talked about the circumstances that preceded and accompanied the Communists' return to power in Dushanbe.

This leader, who recently fled the country, has noted that the media are ignoring his country's hardship. He has appealed to Islamic relief organizations and councils to extend a helping hand to thousands of Tajik families who have taken refuge in the border strip adjacent to Afghanistan and who face the threat of annihilation.

Turajonzoda has related the circumstances surrounding his departure from Tajikistan, saying: "I remained in Ramit, a mountainous area that is nearly 40 km from Dushanbe, the capital, for 44 days. When our ammunition ran low and Communist aircraft started raiding Muslim villages, we were compelled to walk for three days on foot to cross the mountain borders to (Karatzyn) Province. Then I departed by way of Kyrgyzstan to inform the world about the brutal massacres to which our people are subjected at the hands of the Communists."

### Eruption of Incidents

Turajonzoda talked about the climate that preceded the eruption of the incidents against Tajikistan's Muslims, saying: "When a degree of openness was achieved in wake of the Soviet Union's disintegration, Tajikistan experienced a very great Islamic revival. Nearly 3,000 oratories and 165 mosques were reopened, in addition to the Islamic Institute, where 1,200 male students, 280 female students, and hundreds of children were studying. Tajikistan was the only republic that was able to get a parliamentary resolution to resume the use of the Arabic alphabet for writing and official transactions. Within the past two years, we were able to open four Islamic institutes in some provinces. We also got time from the official broadcasting station to relay the five daily prayer sessions. We also obtained the right to broadcast Friday prayers, after paying the required fees."

The Tajik leader expressed regret that the good relations between the Muslims and the Communists did not last long in Tajikistan, saying: "In the wake of visits by the

U.S. secretary of state and the Turkish foreign minister, the Communist government started to change its approach and to display rancors. The Communists decided that the chief cleric would be appointed by the president of the republic or by the parliament and that mosque preachers and imams would be appointed by the provincial governors. Of course, the Muslims rejected this system because it incites their feelings and usurps their freedom through the appointment of officials hostile to Islam."

Turajonzoda said: "The Communists began to assault the parties opposing their policy. They then assaulted the chairmen and members of the Islamic Revival Party, thus causing demonstrations to erupt in Dushanbe. Badakhshan's people launched those demonstrations in protest of the appointment of an interior minister who does not represent them." He went on to explain that the "parties did not launch the April 1992 demonstrations, which lasted 24 days, against the Communist party to stop its activities in Tajikistan as it had been stopped in other parts of the Soviet Union. But later, all of the parties joined forces to demand that the Communist party, which had committed numerous violations, be dissolved." He noted that the "demonstrators' demands were confined to resuming parliamentary elections, to establishing a new constitution for the country, including party representatives in the constitution-drafting committee, and dismissing Kenjayev, a Communist, from the parliament speakership."

Turajonzoda further added: "The parliament agreed to those demands, and Kenjayev did resign. But the Communists enlisted the help of the Russian intelligence and of the Communist Party at home and organized a counterdemonstration demanding abolition of all that had been decided in the parliament's earlier session, my personal dismissal from my position, and the reinstatement of Kenjayev as parliamentary speaker. When negotiations failed, the president of the republic began to form armed Communist youth groups and to supply them with weapons. Those militias started perpetrating massacres against Muslims."

### Communist Superiority

As for the reasons of the Communists' military superiority over the Muslims, Turajonzoda said: "We had always thought of settling our problems peacefully. We had never considered any military confrontation with the Communists. But Communist schemes were lurking for Muslims. Despite this, the Communists weren't able to seize Kulyab region for five months. When we managed to cordon them off in the town and just before we were about to defeat them finally, we were surprised by three Russian tanks intervening and shelling the Muslim positions brutally. We did not have any anti-armor or heavy weapons. Meanwhile, Communists were leasing Russian tanks and getting generous military aid from Uzbekistan by way of an air corridor between Kulyab and Uzbekistan under the guise of humanitarian aid. What is more, U.S. transport planes landed at Khudjand airport. From there, weapons were transported to Kulyab by small aircraft. The Muslim people became a toy in the hands of these forces. The Communists deceived us and stormed the capital with 20 tanks, 60 armored cars, and helicopter aircraft, killing hundreds of old men, women, and children."

He also asserted that the Communists have killed tens of thousands in Kurgan-Tyube in the border strip area with Afghanistan. The Russian Army blockaded this area, killed tens of thousands of Muslims, and dumped dozens of children into the neighboring (Jijun) River.

The Tajik leader pointed out that thousands of his compatriots are exposed to hardship in Afghanistan's Mazar-e-Sharif Region because General Abdol Rashid Dostam, a former Communist, has begun exploit them and prevent them from joining their brothers in Kunduz so that humanitarian aid will be delivered to his areas and he can seize it and distribute it to his fighters. Within this context, there have been attacks, killings, looting, and plundering."

As to whether certain Muslim Tajik factions are subjected to Communist oppression, Turajonzoda said: "Communists are killing dozens of Muslim ulema and imams in Tajikistan, mutilating their bodies, burning their homes, and raping Muslim women in all parts of the country. Recently, they killed Shaykh (Bouri Bey), the 86-year old imam of Kafranikhan Mosque. They tortured him, mutilated his body, and prevented Muslims from performing funeral prayers for him." He added that a rope was tied around the neck of (Malafiz), a 75-year old shaykh from the (Fouidian) area, who was then dragged behind a car until his neck was severed. Moreover, young girls no more than eight or nine years old were raped.

### Muslims' Needs

Turajonzoda pointed out that "what the Muslims need primarily is to have enough camps built for them and to have the humanitarian needs of the refugees in Afghanistan secured. We are determined to continue the struggle against the Communists so that they will not be able to reestablish their rule because they will destroy all Islamic manifestations in Central Asia. We are not fighting to seize power. We agree to having a number of neutral technocrats assume power. We need military aid to establish this rule."

He added: "We are aware that the Islamic world has numerous problems, beginning with the Bosnia-Hercegovina and ending with Somalia and Afghanistan. We also realize that these problems are draining a lot of Islamic funds and efforts. But this is our destiny, and we have to turn to our Muslim brothers. We urge the Arab and Islamic world to rise to help us so that Islamic honor will be preserved."

As for the aid received by Tajik Muslims, he said: "The Islamic Relief Agency has, thankfully, provided humanitarian aid consisting of 300 tons of food to Badakhshan and neighboring areas. Abdolhamid Dagestani, the agency representative, has made commendable efforts in this regard. But we need more aid from Islamic charitable and relief organizations and agencies so that we can overcome the human ordeal to which our people are subjected."

Turajonzoda has acknowledged that Uzbek volunteers from Ferghana have fought alongside the Muslims, in addition to a number of Arab mujahidin who provide humanitarian aid at the refugee camps in Afghanistan. The chief cleric stressed that "we are determined to continue the jihad against communism to protect our faith, regardless of what is rumored about our working to establish a fundamentalist state in Tajikistan. The truth is that we want a state where all enjoy the freedom to practice their religious faith without any suppression, oppression, or intimidation by any communist force. Within this context, we need Arab and Islamic political and diplomatic support in the international lobbies in order to secure legitimate cover for our demands. This is why we are establishing contacts with the Islamic Conference Organization secretary general, to agree on the form of political support that the organization and the Islamic countries can give Tajikistan."

### Government Concerned With Gorno-Badakhshan Refugees' Plight

*OW1303162893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of Tajikistan expressed its great concern over the situation with humanitarian cargo in the republic's Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Province. According to the press service of the Cabinet of Ministers, there are about 52,000 refugees in this region now. The province is experiencing difficulties with foodstuffs and energy and heat supply.

The press service's message underlines that the state has allocated 7 Mn [million] rubles in one-time aid to the refugees to solve the problems of Gorno-Badakhshan. The local authorities granted material aid to 4,000 refugees. In addition, recently the Tajik Government has allocated 8 Mn rubles for one-time monetary benefits to the refugees in Gorno-Badakhshan.

## Uzbekistan

### President Notes Economy's 'Improved Health'

*PM1203161593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 2*

[Adilbek Kaipbergenov report: "Islam Karimov: State Is Chief Reformer"]

[Text] Tashkent—At the last news conference for local and foreign journalists the president of Uzbekistan cited some of last year's statistical results. The volumes of industrial production fell 4.5 percent, and the budget deficit stood at 5.6 percent of GNP. According to assessments by international experts, this is within normal limits. Starting with the fourth quarter, the future outline of the economy's improved health has been becoming increasingly clear.

Answering questions about the situation in neighboring Tajikistan, the head of state drew attention to the fact that the situation there could become more complicated. According to certain information, there are six camps on the territory of Afghanistan and other contiguous countries, where approximately 2,500 gunmen are being trained.

Now that the Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, the great powers have suddenly grown cool toward it, I. Karimov said. Some people need a "smoldering Afghanistan" so as to be able to pressure Uzbekistan, Central Asia, and the region as a whole.

Speaking of the building of the CIS armed forces, Karimov advocated recreating for them the structure of the former Warsaw Pact.

Uzbekistan is maintaining a stable increase in its population, unlike certain other CIS states. All this requires a strong, purposeful social policy in defense of indigent sections of the population and large families. Mythical programs designed for "days," "leaps," and "jumps" are unacceptable here.

The president emphasized once again that during the transitional period the state will continue as the chief reformer, retaining all legitimate levers of management.

## Armenia

### Ter-Petrosyan Pays Official Visit to France

*NC1203191393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] This is the first day of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's official visit to France. The president will meet with French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Pierre Beregovoy.

Before leaving Yerevan for France yesterday, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that this is his third official visit to France. France, he added, was the first foreign country to receive the Armenian leader with full diplomatic protocol at a time when the Soviet Union still existed. Levon Ter-Petrosyan visited Paris three years ago when he was still the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

The Armenian leader also noted that Armenian-French relations are developing positively and this visit will play a significant role in the consolidation of political, trade, and economic ties.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan also underlined that the friendship and cooperation agreement to be signed in Paris envisages bilateral cooperation in the military sphere.

Here is what the Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan said before departure to France:

[Begin Papazyan recording] The main purpose of the visit is to sign the Armenian-French agreement which, in my view, will provide wider opportunities for the further deepening of the friendly relations between Armenia and France. It will be signed by the presidents [words indistinct] and will cover those fields in which both countries are interested—political, economic, cultural and other fields. Although this agreement is of a general nature, we may later (?develop) our relations on concrete issues. Presidential-level political talks are also planned for this visit. Other meetings are planned with French Prime Minister Pierre Beregovoy. I myself will probably have the opportunity to meet the French foreign minister and a number of other French politicians. Similar [words indistinct] agreements with France have been signed by only two other former Soviet republics: Ukraine and Latvia. [end recording]

### Visit Completed

*LD1403221393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2146 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris March 15 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has completed an official three-day visit to France. Late on Sunday he left Paris for Armenia.

During the visit Ter-Petrosyan met with the French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Pierre Beregovoy and other French officials.

A treaty on solidarity, friendship and cooperation between Armenia and France was signed in the residence of the French president.

This treaty is the first of its kind which became a turning point in French-Armenian relations. It envisages the development of bilateral cooperation in economy, science, engineering, culture, law and contacts between Paris and Yerevan in international organisations.

At a news conference in Paris, Ter-Petrosyan said that during his meetings in Paris he laid the emphasis on "more active participation" of the international community, including France, in mediatory efforts to settle the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

### Rome Talks Delegate Clarifies Position on Karabakh

*NC1203204493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] In view of the latest peculiar statements made by Azerbaijani officials on the outcome of the Rome talks, a correspondent asked People's Deputy Khachatur Bezirdzhyan, who took part in the Rome meeting, to comment.

Bezirdzhyan said: The status of Karabakh was not discussed during the Rome talks because only the Minsk conference to be held within the CSCE framework can consider that problem. The representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh must take part in Minsk conference, and the position of Nagorno-Karabakh should be paramount.

Bezirdzhyan reiterated our republic's official stance: The resolution of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and the problems related to Nagorno-Karabakh's status can be examined at the Minsk conference only after the declaration of an unconditional cease-fire and the lifting of the blockade. He said he made this view known during the latest session of the CSCE's Security Committee in Prague.

### Georgian Ministry Reports Azerbaijani Hostages Taken

*NC1203212293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1138 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, March 12 (SNARK)—The taking of 3 Azerbaijani hostages, the inhabitants of village Sadahlo of Marneuslskiy region, by Armenian units on March 7 is single one, which has taken place at Georgian territory during Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Mass media report on 6 hostages takings is false. The above mentioned hostages were set free on March 8. This information was got by Valiko Gogolashvili the leader of Press-Center of the Georgian Ministry for Internal Affairs.

### No Azerbaijanis From Georgia Held

*NC1203212993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Citing the Georgian Defense Ministry Press Service, Baku radio reported that the Armenian Armed Forces have allegedly violated the Armenian-Georgian border, raided the Azerbaijani-inhabited Marneulskiy Rayon, and taken three Azerbaijani women hostage. The radio said that following talks between the Armenians and the Georgian police, the hostages have been returned. This was also reported by Radio Liberty, which noted that this incident took place last week and that this was the sixth such operation by the Armenian guerrillas. It was also reported that, according to a statement by the Georgian Defense Ministry Press Service, 20 Azerbaijanis from Georgia are being kept by the Armenian Armed Forces.

Armen Dulyan, head of the Armenian Defense Ministry Press Service, told an ARMENPRES correspondent that all these allegations are false. Not a single Azerbaijani from Georgia is being held hostage in Armenia and no incidents involving the activities of the Armed Forces on the Armenian-Georgian border have been registered.

## Further Reportage on Military Situation

### Nagorno-Karabakh Unchanged

*NC1203201393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] remained unchanged yesterday. The confrontation between the two sides was mainly in the form of positional fighting. Tension was high in Mardakertskiy Rayon, as has been the case for the past few days. The NKR self-defense forces have fortified their positions in the liberated towns and strategically important heights to maintain their counterattacks.

There were no combat operations in the other parts of the NKR. There were exchanges of fire between the two sides, however. Several residential areas in the NKR were fired on from positions in Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy and Fizulinskiy Rayons. The Armenian self-defense forces were compelled to take retaliatory measures to silence the enemy emplacements.

The latest developments indicate that the Azerbaijani Military Command Headquarters plans to redeem its defeats in Mardakertskiy Rayon by launching attacks near the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon. National Army units and armored vehicles have been massed in areas close to the humanitarian corridor. Observers believe that a wide-scale attack by the enemy forces on the corridor cannot be ruled out. [passage omitted]

Tension remains high on the border of Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, the number of clashes and exchanges of fire has considerably decreased. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan maintains its provocative activities. Armenia's Gorisskiy, Kapanskiy, Megrinskiy, and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons were fired on with various types of arms last week. The Armenian side returned fire to silence the enemy positions.

Balan in Krasnoselskiy Rayon was fired on with mortars and other types of firearms last night. This indicates the side responsible for the tension. Meanwhile, Armenia wishes to turn the border area into a region of cooperation, peace, and security.

### Battles To Liberate Mardakert

*LD1403142493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in English 2245 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Text] Dear friends, we start off as usual with our daily review of the situation in the region. According to the NOROTUNES [as heard] news agency of Artsakh last night and today afternoon battles were still fought for liberation of Mardakert. In spite of significant resistance of Azerbaijan's National Army divisions prevailance of Artsakh's detachments during the battles has been obviously noted. Yesterday evening after a successfully fulfilled counter attack Artsakh self-defense forces took over some heights of strategic significance not far from Maniklu village, that is near Mardakert. The battles are still going on. We were informed from Stepanakert that today it has been comparatively calm in the other regions of mountainous Karabakh as well as in Lachin's life corridor.

As for the state in the frontier regions of Armenia the following information has been obtained from Armenia's Defense Ministry: Yesterday evening the Azerbaijani formations were still keeping fire at the village of Mazashen [placename as heard] from Kazakh region of Azerbaijan. Then during the night that followed Taush region's Paravakar village came under tank fire from the weapon emplacements in Tauz region. According to the preliminary information, one house was destroyed in Paravakar. No casualties have been reported here.

Last night Meghry's Newvady and Goris region's Cornidzor villages also came under fire from the Azerbaijani territory. In all these cases the Armenian frontier guards have undertaken well organized counter blows to silence the enemy fire posts.

### More Azerbaijanis Deployed in Lachin

*NC1503151693 Yerevan SNARK in English 0833 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] Stepanakert, March 15 (SNARK)—Clashes in the northern Karabakh are going on. According to SNARK'S reporter, battles on this part of the front are proceeding around Gulyatag Dzhanyatag and Nerkin-Oratag settlements in the Mardakertskiy Rayon. In particular, the Azerbaijani attack in the Gulyatagh settlement direction has been pushed back.

Simultaneously, according to trustworthy sources information, additional Azerbaijani military troops are coming to the Lachin corridor zone. So military equipment and soldiers are being brought from the next Azerbaijani rayons. The detachments of the Grey Wolves organization are coming to the southern approaches to the Lachin corridor. Karabakh self-defence forces positions are being shelled by long distance artillery, tanks and armored cars. Despite those actions, the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road, connecting Karabakh to the outer world, still remain under the Karabakh troops control.

## Azerbaijan

### Clashes With Armenian Forces; Military Gains Noted

#### Yerevan Said Massing Troops at Border

*OW1203165993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia is concentrating troops on its border with Azerbaijan, INTERFAX was told in Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry. This compels Baku to take countermeasures, the ministry reports.

The ministry also reports that in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian troops fired rockets and artillery shells at settlements in the Agdam and Fizuli districts during the night and on Friday [12 March] morning. In the north, Baku says, the Azerbaijani army pushed the enemy two kilometers away from the environs of the town of Ardere (Mardakert).

Meanwhile, at a briefing in Yerevan, Armen Dulyan, head of the Armenian Defense Ministry press center, said that a large-scale offensive of the Azerbaijani army on the Lachin corridor is expected next week. In his words, "large concentrations of the enemy troops" are observed in that area.

He thinks that the relative calm on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border is explained by Baku being busy preparing for cutting the only road which connects Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia.

## Georgia

### Su-25 Plane Attacks Tsagera; Area Fighting Continues

*LD1303124693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[By GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 Mar—An Su-25 military aircraft delivered a missile strike on the Georgian village of Tsagera in Ochamchirskiy rayon late last night. Several houses were destroyed, two civilians killed and nine wounded, of which five are children. The Georgian Information Agency correspondent does not say where the aircraft belongs. According to the press center of the Georgian Armed Forces deployed in Abkhazia, on the afternoon of 12 March, Abkhazian armed formations launched two unsuccessful attacks on the villages of Labra and Tskhenistskali. After fighting from fixed positions, the Georgian troops consolidated the positions taken the previous day.

The press center of Abkhazia's Armed Forces reports that on the Eshera-Sukhumi stretch Georgian Government troops have fired upon the Abkhazian positions and villages in Gudautskiy rayon from Grad launchers. Abkhazian subunits are improving their defense lines and coast patrolling. Local fighting is continuing in areas where guerillas are operating, on the Ochamchire-Tkvarcheli stretch.

### Rapid Deployment Force Sent to Abkhazia

*OW1303165693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In view of intensive fighting in Abkhazia, Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani has issued the order to transfer the national guards' rapid deployment units from the places of permanent dislocation [as received] to Abkhazia, the Georgian news program, Matsne, announced on Friday [12 March].

The order will be fulfilled by commander of the rapid-deployment corps, Giya Karkarashvili.

Meanwhile, the Georgian Defense Ministry's press center informed INTERFAX that they did not have the text of the defense minister's order.

### Russia Accused of Missile Strike

*OW1403131093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1244 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Defence Ministry has accused Russian forces deployed in Abkhazia of dealing a missile strike on Labra and Tsagera villages in the Ochamchir region. Press officials of the Georgian Embassy in Moscow issued a statement on Sunday [14 March] alleging three Russian warplanes fired air-to-surface missiles on the two villages on March 12. At Tsagera, two people were killed and 15 others injured, and several houses destroyed following the attack.

Georgia has alleged that the total number of casualties from repeated Russian air raids on Sukhumi, Ochamchir and other places in Abkhazia runs at seven dead and about 30 injured.

"In response to Georgia's repeated protests at those barbaric bombing raids, runs the statement, the Russian military had come up with vague explanations little short of blaming a certain Abkhazian air force for the attacks." But the ministry says it will not accept anything of the sort this time because Georgian air defences monitored the taking off by Russian aircraft from Gudauta airport "cynically declared a security zone by Russian generals."

The Georgian Defence Ministry's statement warns about having to retaliate unless such "barbaric actions are stopped."

In the meantime, Russian Defence Ministry officials denied Georgian allegations of launching a bombing raid on villages in the Ochamchir region. A Defence Ministry spokesman told INTERFAX that all of the Russian aircraft in the region remained grounded on March 12.

### Tbilisi Said Planning Advance on Gudauta

*OW1403142393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian authorities are planning a massive advance on the cities of Novy Afon and Gudauta, Abkhaz Defence Ministry officials told INTERFAX. They said Georgia was planning a troop- landing operation on the coast close to Gudauta in the next few days.

The ministry meanwhile said there was heavy fighting outside Sukhumi on Saturday [13 March], with Georgian forces mounting fire on Abkhazian positions and on Esheri, Gvandra and Shytskuara villages.

In the Ochamchir region, the Georgian forces made several abortive attacks losing two tanks, one artillery piece and a truckload of Georgian troops.

Press officials of the Georgian Defence Ministry meanwhile say that a Sukhoi-25 aircraft on Saturday night dropped several bombs on residential areas of Sukhumi. Several houses were destroyed but no casualty is reported.

On Sunday morning, Abkhaz units operating in an area close to the Russian military lab at Nizhnya Esheri opened fire on Georgian troops which retaliated and subdued Abkhaz firing positions.

The Georgian Defence Ministry says there was positional fighting in the Ochamchir region on Saturday and overnight, with Abkhaz forces seeking to recapture positions outside the Labra village.

### Georgian Troops Accused of Shooting POW's

*OW1403171293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1624 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] was told at the headquarters of the guerrilla movement in Ochamchira District, Abkhazia, the Georgian side has disrupted the exchange of prisoners of war. The headquarters maintains that on the eve of the planned exchange Georgian troops shot 6 POWs, 2 women nurses among them. The bodies were desecrated.

### Su-25's Bomb Sukhumi 14 Mar

*LD1403200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1938 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[By GIA-TASS and ITAR-TASS correspondent Nugzar Kereselidze]

[Text] Tbilisi March 14 TASS—Two SU-25 jet-fighters have dropped 11 bombs 500 kilogrammes each hitting Sukhumi residential districts of Achadara on Saturday, a correspondent of the Georgian Information Agency reported.

Reports from the Sukhumi headquarters of the Georgian armed forces said that as a result of the bombardment, 12 people were killed, including 8 servicemen and 4 civilians. There were three journalists among the victims, the same source said.

Sukhumi—According to the press center of the Georgian armed forces stationed in Abkhazia, on Saturday afternoon positions of the Georgian armed forces were shelled by the enemy using all kinds of weapons available. Late on Saturday, a SU-25 jet-fighter made a rocket-bomb attack on positions of the Georgian armed forces and villages situated close to the Gumista River.

At 23:00 on the same day, two SU-25 jet-fighters twice flew above Sukhumi, lowered and began bombarding the city's residential districts, the same source said. A fire broke out in one of the houses. Casualties and damage were reported.

Tbilisi—Georgia's leader Eduard Shevardnadze has expressed great concern about the resumption of a barbarous air raid on Sukhumi on March 13 which killed innocent people.

GIA news agency quoted Shevardnadze as saying that "apparently, certain forces I warned against are seeking to deepen the confrontation between Georgia and Russia. Their aim is to disrupt talks between the two states which are underway in Moscow."

### 'Massive Bombing' Described

*AU1503101793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] Here is some information from the press center of the Main Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces in Sukhumi. We spoke with Zviad [name indistinct], an employee of the press center.

[Begin recording] On 14 March at 0900 [1200 GMT], the enemy opened intensive fire using mortars and heavy machine guns on Georgian positions at Gumista River. The Georgian side returned artillery fire. Positional battles lasted one and a half hours. One Georgian fighter was lightly wounded.

During the second half of the day, a SU-25 airplane flew over Shroma village at a high altitude several times with the aim of reconnoitering Georgian positions. It soon flew off in the direction of Gudauta.

At 2100, the enemy concentrated manpower and heavy equipment in the environs of Kvemo and Zemo Eshera. In addition, a convoy of trucks was spotted in Kvemo Eshera that were bringing Abkhaz fighters from the frontline.

At approximately 0000, the Abkhaz side began a massive bombing of the peaceful population of Sukhumi using all the weapons that they had brought there. Several dozen shells exploded in the [words indistinct] outskirts of the city. Up to 20 residential homes and buildings were destroyed and damaged. It is significant that seven shells fell on the Russian military sanatorium. According to preliminary information, as a result of this barbaric bombing, there were two persons killed and 12 seriously wounded among the peaceful population, including two children. Georgian fighters retaliated with intensive artillery fire and successively suppressed their firing positions.

It is significant that, during the bombing of Sukhumi, two Su-25 military planes appeared above the city that were reconnoitering Georgian positions. However, they did not engage in active combat actions.

After 0300, it became relatively quiet in Sukhumi. Bombing of the city stopped and this is the situation (?now). There are no active combat actions taking place. [end recording]

### Defense Ministry Condemns Attack

*AU1503114193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] The Georgian Ministry of Defense and the Council of Ministers of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic have issued special statements regarding the barbaric bombing of Sukhumi.

The Georgian Ministry of Defense statement states: (?This is) the latest attempt by Russian reactionary forces to wreck the negotiations with Russia and prevent the [word indistinct] of stabilization in Georgia and a peaceful regulation of the conflict. The inhuman action by Russian military circles toward the peaceful population of Sukhumi has aroused the indignation of the Georgian people.

The statement issued by the Council of Ministers of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, which is signed by Batoni Tamaz Nadareishvili [chairman of the Abkhaz Council of Ministers], states: Following the perfidious bombing of Sukhumi on 20 February, we were convinced that the Russian military in Gudauta would have come to their senses. In spite of this, the subsequent development of events has shown that they are continuing their policy of bloody aggression in this region. On 11 March, they bombed Tsagera village in Ochamchire rayon where two persons were killed and more than 30 wounded. Ten houses were completely destroyed. On 13 March, they bombed Sukhumi again, resulting in the deaths of 12 inhabitants, including three journalists. The Council of Ministers of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic considers it necessary to deliver a strong protest over the endless aggression by Russia's military aviation and [state that] full responsibility lies with the Russian side.

### 12 Die in Bomb Dismantling Attempt

*LD1403215893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our Georgia correspondent, newsreader Tatyana Khudobina, has just reported on the phone that as a result of yesterday's bombing of the town of Sukhumi by a Su-25 low-flying attack aircraft, nine shells were dropped. Two of them exploded. Homes were destroyed and there were casualties. Today, a Georgian TV film crew left with military engineering specialists from the Georgian National Guard to render the remaining shells safe. As the very first bomb was being defused, eight specialists, three journalists, and one citizen of Abkhazia were killed. So far, six bombs have still not been defused and could explode at any moment. Today, the Georgian Ministry of Defense and the Council of Ministers of the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic have circulated a statement in which they appeal to the public and mass media to come to Sukhumi to provide objective coverage of the events there.

### 'Large-Scale' Abkhaz Attack Planned

*AU1503123593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Text] According to reliable sources, it has become known that the Abkhaz side is planning to launch a large-scale attack on the city of Sukhumi on 15-17 March using heavy equipment and aviation. The preparation of the bloody operation is also shown by the dropping of bombs on the city's peaceful population last night. It is envisaged that special subunits of the Russian Army deployed in Gudauta will be used in the operation. The reason for this is the apparent firing by the Georgian side on the seismic laboratory in Eshera.

According to current information, Abkhaz separatists have several dozen of the latest tanks in Eshera whose crews are mainly staffed by Russian specialists.

On 14 March, 17 fuel cisterns were brought from [name indistinct] in order to implement this operation.

We received this information from the CONTACT news agency.

### 13 Civilians Die in 15 Mar Clashes

*OW1503130393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1237 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the early hours on Monday [15 March], Abkhazian forces fired on Georgian positions on the Gumista River and in Sukhumi, making use of all kinds of weapons. According to the press center of the Georgian Defense Ministry, more than 40 shells exploded in Sukhumi and on its outskirts, killing one and injuring 13 civilians, and damaging nearly 20 buildings.

The press center also said the Abkhazians were planning to launch, with the support of Russian forces, a large-scale offensive on Sukhumi between 15 and 17 March. According to Georgian intelligence, there are several T-80 tanks with Russian crews in the village of Nizhnyaya Esheri, waiting for orders to attack. The press center said 14 tankloads of petrol had arrived in Gudauta from Russia on March 14.

The Prime Minister of the pro-Georgian Abkhazian government in Sukhumi, Tamaz Nadareishvili, told INTERFAX the situation in the city had seriously deteriorated over the past few days. He said Sukhumi was not only being attacked by the Abkhazian artillery but was also being bombed by the Abkhazian air force. On March 14, he said, an Abkhazian boat tried to land a task force near the Sukhumi lighthouse but was driven away by the Georgian coast artillery.

The Abkhazian Defense Ministry, however, said Abkhazian forces, in the early hours on Monday, thwarted the Georgians' attempt to launch an offensive all along the front line on the Gumista and in Ochamchira District in the east of the republic.

The Ministry also said the Georgians on Sunday were shooting at Abkhazian positions in the villages of Syrpkha, Guandra, and Novy Afon, and at a Russian armed forces laboratory in Nizhnyaya Esheri.

### Shevardnadze on Bombings, Russia Ties

*LD1503133993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0647 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified announcer, with introduction by correspondent Nana Gongadze, in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Now, as always on Mondays, we have on the line our correspondent in Tbilisi, Nana Gongadze, live on the air from the office of State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze. Good morning.

[Gongadze] Good morning.

[Announcer] We know that Eduard Amvrosiyevich addresses his citizens, the people of the republic, every Monday.

[Gongadze] Yes, this has really become an obligatory feature, and the people do demand it. I believe that in the period of exacerbation of Russian-Georgian relations, which has been caused by recent events in Abkhazia, while the fourth round of meetings of the two countries' government delegations is held in Moscow, I believe that it will be of interest both to Mayak listeners and to you to be able to speak directly to the Georgian leader. Eduard Amvrosiyevich has just entered our cubicle, and is now waiting for your questions. Over to you.

[Announcer] No doubt. Eduard Amvrosiyevich, we'd like to know what you have said to your people, to the population of the republic.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you very much and good morning.

[Announcer] Good morning.

[Shevardnadze] This has been one of my usual addresses to the people. The main issue, the focus of attention, is Russian-Georgian relations. Unfortunately, there have been developments that have marred these relations. Yesterday, another 11 people were killed in Sukhumi as a result of bombing. The bombing was carried out by aircraft of the Russian Army—let's put it this way—because there are no other aircraft there. It seems to me that certain circles are intent on thwarting Russian-Georgian talks, whatever the price. These talks are currently under way in Moscow, and are, in principle, close to conclusion. This is the first thing.

Secondly, I would like to take this opportunity and make a request to journalists. Yesterday, three journalists were killed in Sukhumi. So I would like journalists to come on a visit, I am inviting them. I would like them to see what goes on in Sukhumi, to watch the behavior of certain servicemen, of certain military commanders, of units stationed in Gudauty, in the area of Sukhumi, etc.

We are deeply committed to developing relations with Russia, good-neighborly, good relations, naturally, in line with our traditions. But there are forces, probably both in Georgia and in Russia, whose purposes this does not suit. I believe that we have come to a stage where we ought to sort things out.

First of all, it is the duty of the leaders, and also of the public, both in Georgia and in Russia. If we strive for friendship, we should probably make bolder moves towards concluding our talks, signing agreements, and preventing all the outrages that mar our relations.

[Announcer] Yes, you're right. It is certainly very sad to hear about losses, on whatever side. Well, in Moscow, a conference is currently being held to draw up a mechanism for settling the conflict. Hopefully, it will help us out of this trouble. Thank you very much for participating in our live conversation.

## Yeltsin Said 'Guarantor' of Change

*LD1203213293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2056 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi March 12 TASS—"We are extremely alarmed with the current situation in Russia and the Congress [of People's Deputies], which is rather heated," Georgian parliament chairman Eduard Shevardnadze told the Petersburg TV.

Estimating the developments in Russia, the Georgian state head lamented over "a shaping split of the two power branches and evident confrontation tendencies between the president and the parliament".

"I think if a compromise decision is not reached, this is fraught with great dangers for not only Russia, where the situation may result in extremely reactionary forces' entrance of the scene, but also for the whole world, since in this case the world and we will have to deal with unstable Russia," said the leader.

That is why, in the words of Eduard Shevardnadze, he joins "the idea of the soonest convocation of the 'seven' meeting to adopt emergency measures to consolidate democratic forces in Russia and render real support to President Yeltsin".

"Despite some difficulties in our relations, which recently appeared, I consider Yeltsin to be the guarantor of democratic transformations in Russia. All of us must support him. I am sure the Russian-Georgian relations will soon reach a normal civilized level of development," says the interview.

## Former President Urges Defense of Megrelia

*OW1503131393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1238 GMT 15 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Former Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has called upon the world community to defend the population of Megrelia (a region in western Georgia) from the plans of the Georgian military command to introduce additional troops into the region. In a Monday [15 March] announcement, Gamsakhurdia said that the population of Megrelia "has announced civil disobedience of the authorities and that it will not allow its cities and villages to be robbed." He believes that the situation in the region threatens "to grow into a massive civil war."

Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani said in a 12 March interview on national radio that he intended to introduce additional military units into the Megrelia region in order to guard shipments passing through the area.

## Lithuania

### Gyliys Comments on 15 Mar Visit by Russia's Kozyrev

*LD1203151593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1417 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius March 12 TASS—The Lithuanian mass media reported today that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev would stop over in Vilnius on March 15, en route from Kaliningrad to Helsinki.

Commenting on this news, the head of the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry Povilas Gylys told the newspaper "TIESA" that "The visit was not planned or agreed upon in advance, as diplomatic practice requires. Mr. Kozyrev has expressed his personal desire to meet Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas and me. Unfortunately, I am leaving for Helsinki on Monday [15 March] to attend a meeting of the Baltic Council. I hope I will be able to talk to him in the Finnish capital. If nothing else occurs, the Russian foreign minister will meet the head of the Lithuanian State in Vilnius, as well as one of the members of the Lithuanian cabinet."

Asked about the topic of the talks, the Lithuanian foreign minister said that "This is the first such visit by a top-ranking Russian politician to Lithuania after the latest elections in the republic. Since it was not prepared in advance, no concrete results can apparently be expected from it. The talks will focus on the strategy of bilateral relations and psychology".

### Prime Minister Holds First News Conference

*LD1203195393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[News conference with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezavicius; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] [Slezavicius] Good morning, dear journalists. Good morning, dear people of Lithuania.

Last week, as you know, I was entrusted with the formation of the government. I would like very briefly to describe the main aspects of the activity of the new government and the problems that we are going to solve in the near future, after the cabinet of ministers is formed. My fundamental view is that we must ensure the continuity of all economic reforms that are being carried out. There is no alternative to reforms, there is no alternative to advancing toward a free economic market, there is no alternative to [passage indistinct] there have been attempts to comment on some of my replies; therefore, I wish you to know my stand.

I think you are very well informed about the situation in the republic's economy. I wish only to say that there is no alternative to reform, but it is obvious that it must be corrected and made more pragmatic. Being very politicized in some aspects, especially the agrarian reform, is yielding very dramatic results in our economy. For instance, bearing in mind a decline in the economy, in agriculture, these three years of economic reforms have been more painful in the sense of economic decline than the compulsory soviet collectivization in 1949-52.

In view of this state of affairs, the government should seriously analyze and see what can be corrected. After taking stock of the adopted laws in agriculture, it has been established that we are short over 800,000 hectares of land that should be returned to owners, whereas the total area allocated for agricultural crops is 3.4 million hectares. [sentence as heard]

There is a similar situation in the privatization of industry. The total mass of investment checks is higher than the value of objects to be privatized. Of course, we must not allow that some people who regain their property at a later date are harmed. Therefore, some corrections are essential. I think that we will be able to comment on this issue more extensively replying to your questions.

Now I would like to describe yet another very important aspect on which the government's attention is focused. The situation in our economy is such that, without significant aid by foreign investors, we simply do not have enough strength to carry out the basic policy of the reconstruction of the economy. This is the essence of the success of our economy, and how we are able to ensure the stabilization of the economy and a dynamic rate of development will depend on its successful implementation .

There are many problems regarding foreign investments. I wish only to express my regret that in the last three years we did not have a single marked project with more significant foreign investments. Credits that have been obtained and partially used up have been directed, first of all, at obtaining new [word indistinct]. This was very important. [Passage indistinct] to obtain grain, this was very important, too. But we have no future if we continue to use these funds for heating and food. It would be more effective if these funds were used and projects were drawn up, for example, to raise the effectiveness of the production of grain. [passage indistinct]

[LIETUVOS AIDAS correspondent] Your career is linked with the monopolist agricultural production that [passage indistinct] your appointment to the post of prime minister. Prices have increased and this is harming both the towns and the countryside. [Passage indistinct] a cat that has been appointed manager of a cream store. The second question is: Where do you intend to obtain foreign investments—in Russia or Germany?

[Slezavicius] I think my dear colleague is misinformed about monopolism and makes some basic mistakes. I wish only to say that we all have been hostages of the planned economic soviet system. All problems begin here, and those endless accusations of who is more guilty—whether the processing industry or whether the farmer is harmed more—this is only a wrong formulation of the problem.

The solution is as follows: We must ensure a normal cooperation link between agriculture and industry. Until this is the case, there will be contradictions, unfounded accusations; both sides will feel they are being harmed and the consumer will suffer. You remarked correctly that the situation with the increase of prices is not normal and this reflects the general state of the economy. Last year the cost of agricultural produce was increasing by approximately 5-6 percent, all the resources going into agriculture were increasing by 16-17 times, and energy resources costs were increasing by 450-500 times. Therefore, there are many problems and the government is drawing up a program to ease the marked increase in the prices of agricultural products in order that the consumer suffers less. The essence is simple: subsidies are envisaged for agricultural producers amounting to 5 billion. [currency not further specified] Apart from that, possible credit resources are envisaged in the budget in the sum of 20 billion, which must be obtained by the government, and the government is taking practical steps to solve this problem. These credits should be directed, first of all, for consumer subsidies. [passage omitted] I do not say that we should increase the prices of agricultural products without increasing wages, pensions, and grants to people who must be socially supported.

The question—Russia or Germany. I think that capital does not smell. Capital must mean economic advantage to the republic's economy, the republic's people. In speaking of East-West relations, I think you know that no credit resources can be obtained from the East. Therefore, when we speak of foreign investments, there can be only one real source—international financial organizations, the World Bank, the IMF, and credit resources of various Western banks. [passage omitted]

We are facing yet another very important task—the use of credit resources. At present we do not have in the republic a clear system of receiving credit resources, preparing investment projects, business plans, and forming state guarantees. This will be one of the government's priorities [passage indistinct].

[DPA correspondent] [Passage indistinct concerning German complaints about ineffective work of Lithuanian authorities]

[Slezavicius] I have already briefly dealt with this problem. I think that at present the situation is favorable to foreign investors. As opposed to other Baltic states, we have our constitution, we have the president, we have parliamentary majority, and, I think, we will be able to function in a more normal way in the government. This, I think, is a very important prerequisite for foreign investors to invest in the republic's economy. [passage indistinct] We must have a favorable economic regime. It is important to foreign investors that we have clear organizational structures: who deals with which problem, who makes decisions. [passage omitted including indistinct question and answer]

[Unidentified correspondent] What is your attitude toward the press? Lithuanian newspapers are closing down; this is very well known. Both Mr. Lubys and Mr. Brazauskas have promised to remove the (?excise) duty and take some other steps to make the work of the press easier. How are you going to deal with the press as an economist and a prime minister? Do you not see some analogies between yourself and Mrs. Prunskiene? You both are economists, you came to power at more or less the same age. Are you not afraid that your career in government will end the same way as that of Mrs. Prunskiene?

[Slezavicius] My attitude toward the press is very favorable. [passage omitted] I cannot comment on the removal of the excise, but we must seek ways to make the press cheaper. [passage omitted] A collective decision by the cabinet must be made; this will happen not earlier than two weeks' time.

As for analogies, indeed, I knew Mrs. Prunskiene well before she became prime minister. [passage omitted] The fate of my career has never bothered me. [passage omitted] But it was not simple to make the decision to become prime minister. This was unexpected to me, but after consideration I understood that if this post were offered to me, then my abilities have been valued by my colleagues. My task is to attempt to justify this confidence.

[Passage indistinct including question about changes in the Finance, Foreign, and Defense Ministries]

[Slezavicius] I have no doubts about the aforementioned three ministers. If they are agreeable they will remain in the new cabinet. [Passage indistinct] about the number of ministries. We are experiencing a very complex period of reorganizing the ministries in which we have achieved one thing only: During this period of time we have lost many hard working and qualified experts who were compelled to leave their posts. They all managed to find better living conditions. On the whole, as a state, we have lost some of our potential. In my view, there must be a minimum of reorganizations during this period that is so difficult for our economy. [passage omitted] Therefore, the number of ministries should not be increased. [passage omitted]

[Passage indistinct including question about relations with Russia and introduction of litas]

[Slezavicius] I think that our relations with Russia and other neighboring countries should be based on the principle of normal economic advantage. We are neighbors, such is our geopolitical situation. Therefore, the restoration of normal economic relations with our neighbors is essential. We must also not forget that during the last 50 years of occupation we have been very closely—

not because we wished it—integrated into the Eastern economy. Our economic situation at present is such that we virtually cannot, within a brief period of time—and this has been demonstrated during the last three years—disintegrate from the eastern economy and integrate into the economy of the West. This process requires huge investments, time, expenditures, and most important, understanding how to do this. [passage omitted]

If the opposition goes on using various comments on the participation of members of the government in meetings and discussions with individual economic subjects of Russia or other countries, then I think we are going to lose face as an economic partner. We must understand that—for example, in the supply of oil—we have no alternative. We may be annoyed that we have a dialogue with the neighbor in the east, but we can do nothing to obtain energy resources from some other place. Three years have elapsed but we have no alternative plans for importing energy resources. Not to mention the fact that such a plan would cost hundreds of millions of dollars, not coupons, and that at least one or one and a half years are needed for its implementation. [passage omitted] We must understand that we must continue a normal economic dialogue on these issues.

At present, questions are being asked about the use of the former Russian military bases and military objects in forming joint enterprises. We have in Lithuania over 700 joint enterprises with Russia. But nobody has noticed that they inflict a great economic loss. [passage indistinct] I think that economic benefit is a stimulus, but we must not forget our fundamental stand. It is obvious that we cannot sacrifice our political stand for economic benefit. This cannot be considered. But the dialogue must continue, and not only with Russia but also with other CIS countries, because, having alternatives in importing energy resources, due to the low cost of transport by the pipeline rather than in tankers we may be importing oil and oil products from the east for a long time. This is normal.

[Unidentified correspondent] In becoming Lithuanian prime minister you suspended your authorizations in the LDLP [Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party]. Why? What is compelling you, a former businessman, to remain in that party?

[Slezavicius] I have suspended my authorizations in the council considering that the prime minister should not belong to a political group, although it has a majority in the Seimas. This way I can have a dialogue with all the political forces in the Seimas [passage indistinct] but this does not mean that I give up the LDLP program. This program must be developed and improved, especially in the sphere of economy during the stabilization of agriculture. Regarding my participation in the council as a businessman, lately I have virtually taken no part in political activity. [passage indistinct]

[Zukas, not further identified] Could you tell us what your firm has been engaged in, and is it true that your salary there as the firm's president was $10,000 per month? How are you going to manage now on the prime minister's salary?

[Slezavicius] I am very grateful to Mr. Zukas that he is so able in counting my money. I am grateful to him, but he missed the mark by a great margin. Let the sources he used remain his secret.

Our Norwegian-Lithuanian joint enterprise was engaged, first of all, in export of milk products from the Baltic states, import of milk technologies, and other commercial functions. [passage indistinct]

[Slezavicius] I apologize that I did not reply about the introduction. Of course, we missed the most convenient time for the introduction of the litas. This is my view as an economist. This is confirmed by the present situation in Estonia and, partly, in Latvia. I think that many problems have been created by the conflict between the Lithuanian National Bank and the government. Of course, normal economic policy of the government cannot be implemented when this is hampered or opposed by the bank. I am not going to judge which side has been right. [passage omitted] When to introduce the litas? The question is very complex. I think that this should be done now, during this inflation of the coupons. [passage omitted]